SOCIALIZATION AND FOREIGN NANNIES IN THE ARABIAN GULF

A Case Study in Oman

By

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DEDICATION

I should like to dedicate this piece of work to the memory of my father, to my mother, and to my uncle who became a second real father, for their faithful upbringing, and their constant support and encouragement during my formal education and long periods of further study. Like my five brothers and six sisters, all now happy and prosperous, I owe my secure place in life to them under the umbrella and the system of the extended family.

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Finally, from the bottom of my heart, I attempt the impossible task of expressing my debt to my wife and five children. The original impetus for this study came from my own early experience of nannies, and the realisation at first hand of the importance of the socialisation process and the primacy of the mother's role. Since then, my wife and children have been constantly at my side, and have been an unfailing source of comfort and encouragement. My gratitude is immense. From them and for them I have learned most of what I know about education. For teaching is a reciprocal process of giving and receiving: As John Dewey so

well puts it "Education is an ongoing transaction between the teacher and his environment, its aims reveal themselves in the process of the transaction and cannot therefore be foreseen; only when you have reached your destination and achieved your aims can you look back and see what kind of transaction you were involved in."

SUMMARY

The thesis begins by setting out the socio-historic background to the employment of foreign nannies in Oman. The process of *modernisation* which has profoundly affected all developed countries in the world in the course of the last century and a half, has been telescoped to an almost frightening degree in the Arabian Gulf States in recent years thanks to the development of the oil industry; which brought with it, first Western technology and a taste of Western culture, and later enormous wealth. A brief resumé of Omani history shows the incredible speed and comprehensiveness of recent radical developments in Oman — a complete industrial and social revolution in only two decades. Like all revolutions, this one has not been without its traumatic effects: changes to the role of the family have in their turn affected the whole fabric of the Islamic social system, and in particular traditional methods of child socialisation. In an ideal Islamic society, education, whether provided by the family or by other institutions, should produce a good citizen, who by his family loyalty, upright behaviour and general civic concern, upholds in every aspect of his life and activities, the Islamic ideals of virtue, tolerance, charity, and enlightened self-interest. Recent changes in Omani society have thrown this educational function into doubt; and one element in the process is the foreign nanny.

Detailed examination of the nature of social change in Oman pinpoints the various ways in which the role of the family has diminished, and that of the state increased. In particular, the somewhat haphazard way in which, inevitably, the state has assumed the responsibilities for social welfare and education which were previously the sole province of the family, has weakened the framework of child socialisation which was once the bulwark of an Islamic society. This framework derives from the whole ethos of the child's socialising environment — previously the extended family with its spoken and

unspoken Islamic ideals; now far more often the world of the nanny; alien, sometimes uncaring, and often imperfectly understood. That this environment is the enemy of successful socialisation was the hypothesis designed to be tested by the research.

Current theories of socialisation in the earliest years of childhood, especially those of the 'learning theorists', such as Bandura, emphasise the importance to the very young child of 'bonding' — stable emotional attachment to one or two adult carers — for successful later emotional development. The child's cognitive, linguistic, psychological and social development is likely thereafter to depend on its role-models, on whose explicit and implicit assumptions about life the child is likely to base his own actions. How much these are in tune with his society will depend on how far these role models reflect, especially linguistically, the cultural assumptions of that society. To some extent, therefore, the closer the bond between child and nanny, the less likely he is (if she is non-Omani) to socialise successfully. It is in this context that the research set out to test the effects of foreign nannies on Omani children. Its objectives were therefore to see *why* families employed nannies; to see *how* they were employed; to study their personal lifestyles and even more importantly their backgrounds and the cultures from which they came; to try to discover their effects on the children in their charge, and to make some recommendations about their deployment.

To do this, an epidemiologically oriented survey was undertaken of families from all over the Sultanate, by means of questionnaires distributed to approximately 4% of Omani families. From those who responded to the survey, two sets of 80 families were targeted, as nearly as possible similar in every respect; one employing a nanny, the other not. The instrumentation adopted was a combination of questionnaire and structured interview. A field experiment of this kind seemed the most realistic test in the first instance, and also the only one readily available in the fairly fluid circumstances of a still developing state.

The results of the research are reported in Chapters V to IX of the thesis. The characteristics of the families in the sample, including their ideas on child-rearing, are examined in considerable detail with a view to detecting any pre-disposition to nanny-employment; the only slight bias to emerge was a tendency to stricter discipline and a hint of stronger concern about the possible moral dangers of nannies on the part of those who did not employ them. On the whole though the reasons for non-employment were as much practical as principled. The nannies' own circumstances, family habits and cultural backgrounds were exhaustively investigated; the picture that emerged was one of poverty, ignorance, no strong religious or moral beliefs, some distinctly alien practices, but no great moral depravity — not surprisingly, given the questionnaire format. The most serious disadvantage to emerge was their almost total ignorance of Arabic; but this alone, given the nature of socialisation, is a major disqualification for the task. An investigation of the nanny's role in the home and with the children, as well as of the employers' expectations of them and their reasons for employing them, revealed that by far the majority of both family groups, and the nannies themselves, saw them as first and foremost domestic help, both utilised and paid as such.

When it came to the effects of the nannies on the children's development, despite the shortcomings of the questionnaire method, with its possibility of bias in the responses, a slight but perceptible advantage appeared in the non-nanny-reared children; in cognitive and linguistic development particularly, but also in general confidence and initiative.

All in all, the research bore out at least to some extent the hypothesis it set out to test: that nannies can have an intellectually retarding and culturally alienating effect on the children in their care; that they can impair the successful socialisation, and in particular, the psychological, linguistic and cultural harmonisation of children in Omani society.

The thesis concludes by making a number of recommendations which if implemented might help to put infant socialisation on a healthier and more faithfully Islamic foundation for the future; by ensuring, through well organised State supervision, that daycare provided by others is of a properly professional standard.

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CHAPTER I: Historical Background to Oman

1.1 Modernization and the Gulf region

This thesis concerns the use of foreign nannies in Oman. The topic in itself sounds insignificant, even trivial, but it is not. In order to understand its real importance, it must be seen in the context of its time and place: the late 20th century in one of the most rapidly developing of the Gulf States.

The Gulf States occupy a unique position in the 20th century world. Until well on in this century, they were largely undeveloped, traditional tribal societies; impoverished, linguistically heterogeneous and united only by the Muslim faith and culture. With the discovery of oil, however, transition to the economic and to a lesser extent, technological standards of the developed nations has been progressing with almost frightening rapidity. This is the process which by its acceptable face is known as 'modernisation'; but beneath the bland surface of the term lies a complex web of forces, destructive as well as creative, and extremely resistant to control. Since modernisation, as later chapters will indicate, is responsible for the nanny-phenomenon, and also for its significance in Gulf society, the topic is worth further study.

As a topic for the social sciences, modernisation has been fairly extensively researched in recent years. Weiner (1966) has gathered an illuminating selection of recent views on the concept of modernisation in the 20th century. He himself points out that 'modernisation' as a term denoting the process of rapid change in human affairs seems to have crystallised only after World War II, although the word 'modern' has of course a much longer history. In Mediaeval times, conformity to tradition was considered the only desirable norm, and innovations were shunned. It was only when Greek philosophy and science, together with Arab mathematical studies, began to make an impact on the European scene in the 12th century that the spirit of critical thinking emerged and produced the beginnings of the Renaissance. Locke (1632-1704) was perhaps the first social philosopher to sanction change as a desirable and justifiable process. The process of change remained slow indeed, and it was not until

the close of the 18th century that the semblance of modern society was discernible. For a time, the process of modernisation remained fermenting within the crucible of Europe, from where it spread to the rest of the world. Inevitably then, modernisation has remained underpinned with some degree of Eurocentrism and is defined in terms of European norms. Eisenstadt (1967), for example, defined modernisation as

> a process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the 17th century and then spread from the 19th and 20th centuries to the South American, Asian and African continents.

Following this idealised Western-European perspective on modernisation, social scientists, mostly in the United States, began in the 1960's to devise ideal character traits of modern societies that largely tended to portray the Western societies, especially America, as the ideal for modernisation; and all other societies were seen to be entrenched to some degree in traditionalism.

In non-European contexts, therefore, as Smelser (1964) says in his essay on the topic, because of its origins in West-European societies and its introduction by European colonial rulers, modernisation began additionally to be considered as the process of Christianisation, Europeanisation and more recently Westernisation, and hence a threat to local traditional systems and values. But the universal nature of the advantages associated with modernisation, such as industrialisation, technological progress, democratic and participatory political systems, self-sustaining economies, mass literacy and widespread opportunities for higher and professional education, social mobility and equalisation of opportunities for all, has made the process of modernisation compellingly desirable. No society in the world today can isolate itself and refuse to modernise without serious damage to the welfare of its people.

Consequently, scholars concerned with the inner dynamics of formerly traditional,

non-European, modernising societies began to get involved in a critique of the theoretical assumptions underlying modernisation as propounded by the social scientists (such as J. Levy Jr. (1966) or Apter (1964) and Sinai (1964)). These scholars were not prepared to accept the thesis that modernisation had a single, predetermined goal with a well-trodden path leading to it. They saw various possibilities for, and different routes to, modernisation. Ramos (1966), for instance, proposed a distinction to be drawn between what he defined as Theory N (Necessity), and Theory P (Possibility), of modernisation. Theory N, he suggested, assumed that there is a law of historical necessity that impels every society to try to attain the stage occupied by the so-called modernized societies which reveals to the modernizing-traditional societies the image of their future. In contrast, Theory P, argued Ramos, makes two assumptions: i) that modernity is not located in any specific part of the world; and ii) that any nation, whatever its contemporary configuration, always has its own possibilities of modernisation, the implementation of which can be disturbed by the imposition of a frozen normative model, extrinsic to those possibilities. This of course is the approach preferred in the Gulf States.

Similarly, Tipps (1973) has strongly protested against the dichotomisation of modern-traditional societies, which as he pointed out suggested that traditional societies were essentially static . . . and that for them the transition to modernisation was assumed to have begun only as a result of their contact with European societies. This amounted to an implicit denial of the relevance of the pre-contact experience of those areas to their subsequent development. As a result, a more open-minded view of modernisation began to take shape. Black (1967) for example tries to extend the concept of modernisation, as seen by social scientists in terms of the political and social changes accompanying industrialisation, to a holistic view. He sees all societies in the world as engaged in a process of transformation from one set of institutions to others with changing functions. He does not consider it necessary however for all

modernising societies to go through the same set of circumstances or the same conflicts as those of Western Europe which pioneered modernisation. He does see the following four phases as common to all successful attempts at implementation:

i) The Challenge of Modernity - the initial confrontation between a traditional society and modern ideas and institutions; and the emergence of advocates of modernity;

ii) The Consolidation of Modern Leadership — when the transfer of power from traditional to modern leaders must take place, in the course normally of bitter revolutionary struggle, often lasting several generations;

iii) Economic and Social Transformation — which marks the development of economic growth and social change to a point where a society has become predominantly urban and industrial (the stage now reached by Oman); and

iv) The Integration of Society — the phase in which economic and social transformation produces a fundamental reorganisation of the social structure of the society (see Black (1967)).

The search for a refinement of the concept has continued in the 1970's and 1980's. In a recent book entitled 'Rethinking Modernisation', by Poggie Jr. and Lynch (1974), the following reservations about modernisation have been highlighted by Everett Rogers:

i) Modernisation is not necessarily synonymous with Europeanisation or Westernisation. Modernisation is a synthesis of old and new ways and varies in different environments.

ii) Modernisation is not necessarily *good.* It brings a mix of constructive and destructive effects depending on the situation and the perspective of the observer.

iii) The process is not unidimensional, and therefore cannot be measured by a single criterion or index. Such variables as standards of living, aspirations, literacy, education, political participation, sophistication, and more, are involved in the modernisation process. Nevertheless, as Burgess (1964) points out, because modernisation was conceived as a grand idea for the future of all mankind, it was accompanied by claims, whether implicit or

explicit, as to its universal benefits. Modernisation was projected as a panacea for all the ills of backwardness; hence the polarisation of the two. Yet it is well known now that modernisation has been accompanied by the greatest calamities that mankind has known. Modernisation must therefore be thought of as a process that is creative and destructive at the same time. While it provides new opportunities and opens up new prospects for prosperity, freedom and welfare, it also causes suffering and dislocation.

Of particular concern to all mankind in the wake of modernisation is the breakdown of traditional values. Religious systems that once formed the basis of moral and spiritual stability are cast aside or only nominally adhered to. Modern man is left entirely on his own to find the means to cope with a constantly changing environment; and since spiritual guidance is denied him, he has only material comforts to fall back on. The modern environment tends to atomise society, depriving its members of the sense of community and belonging without which individual fulfilment cannot be satisfactorily achieved. Many regard personal insecurity and anxiety as the hallmarks of the modern age, which can be traced directly to the profound social disintegration that has accompanied modernisation. The primary institution of family has especially come under severe strain. Whereas in the traditional set-up the family was a large and complex institution involving networks of relations who provided security and moral support at every stage in life, the modern family tends to be nuclear, fragmented and independent of parental control. The increasing economic freedom of women brought about by the extension of education and occupational opportunities for both sexes, and their engagement outside the household in professional, skilled or semi-skilled occupations, has led to new problems, especially for children and the elderly. The weakest members of the household, that is to say the children, the elderly and the disabled, are vulnerable. The protective institutions such as nurseries, clinics, hospices and old people's homes do not provide adequate solace and

comfort to the affected members of the family. Therefore the agonies and pains caused by rapidly changing social systems under modernisation remain unabated (see Poggie and Lynch (1974)).

In an interesting study on 'Social Change and Social Character: the Role of Parental Mediation', the psychologist Inkeles (1975) observes the role of parent as child-rearer under conditions of social change. 'Implicitly if not explicitly' he asserts, 'the parent is conceived as having available a relatively fixed repertory of child-training procedures provided by his culture and learned by him during the period of his own childhood. On the one hand, the parent is seen as acting as the passive agent of his own culture, raising his children according to the procedures he had learned earlier in his own childhood, even though these techniques may have lost their appropriateness. It is assumed that, as his children grow up, the gulf between parent and child will rapidly grow great, and relations will become strained as the child meets and learns the conflicting behaviour patterns of his 'own' new culture. On the other hand, the parent may know enough not to try to apply the training procedures under which he was raised, and in that case he either surrenders to other cultural surrogates such as peer group, teachers, mass media, etc., or borrows, and of course ineptly applies, some prefabricated set of rules' (see Inkeles).

Clearly, then, social scientists world-wide are agreed, first that modernisation need not follow a pre-ordained pattern in all societies; and second, that modernisation, especially rapid modernisation, brings problems as well as benefits in its wake, especially to the social fabric and to its mainstay in most societies, the family. Such rapid transition has been especially a feature of the recent history of the Gulf States, and since 1970, of Oman in particular.

1.2 Early Beginnings

The Sultanate of Oman, historically known as the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, occupies the extreme east and south east of the Arabian Peninsula. It is bordered by UAE on the north, by Saudi Arabia on the west, and by Yemen on the south west. Oman is separated from Iran by the Gulf of Oman. A detached portion of Oman, separated from the rest of the country by the UAE territory, lies at the tip of the Musandam peninsula, on the southern shore of the Strait of Hormuz. Oman has a coastline of more than 1600 km (1000 miles) on the Indian Ocean. The total area of the country is about 300000 sq km (120000 sq miles).[1] According to the socio-demographic survey, conducted by the Development Council in 1985, the Sultanate of Oman has a population ranging between 1½-2 million. The official figure used for planning purposes is 2 million. The annual population growth rate, according to the above said source, ranges between 3.8% to 5%, which is seen as one of the highest rates in the world.

It was only on 23 July 1970 that the Sultanate appeared on the international scene as a sovereign state, i.e. when Said bin Taimoor (the Sultan of Oman) was overthrown at the end of a civil war and after a dictatorial rule which lasted about 40 years (from 1932 to 1970).

Oman goes back in history to Roman times (and probably beyond). The country witnessed the invasion by many nations; yet, Oman has largely maintained its independence. Cross currents of history with migrations and invasions have swept Oman since ancient times, but its people have remained of basically Arab origin.[2] During earlier Islamic eras some of its cities (like Sohar) were of vital importance: During the 10th century Sohar was one of the largest and most important cities in the Arab world, while the country's mariners reached as far as China.[3] Sohar remained an important port even after the Portugese conquest.[4]

At the beginning of the 16th century some foreign invasions began arriving in the country, such as the Portugese, the Dutch and the British. The Portugese established themselves in the Omani ports, where they built some forts like Merani (1587) and Jalali (1588). Prior to the Portugese conquest, the Omanis were ubiquitous on the seas, but with the arrival of the Portugese, the balance of power was largely changed.

British and Dutch traders followed in the wake of the Portugese, though they did not establish themselves by force of arms in the country.[5] In the mid-seventeenth century, however, a certain Imam[6] Nasir ibn Murshid gained power and dismissed the Portugese out of the country. Under this Imam the country flourished and prospered.[7]

During the first half of the 18th century, the strength and authority of the Imam diminished and the country went into chaos. The country was ravaged by civil war and one of the contenders called in the Iranians to help him, but Ahmed ibn Said gained power, expelled the Iranians and settled everything down. Ahmed ibn Said was soon elected Imam in 1749 and founded the al-Bu Said dynasty which still rules Oman till the present day. The country prospered under the new dynasty and some of its historical past and maritime importance was restored.[8] Under the rule of Imam Said bin Sultan (who ruled Oman from 1804 to 1856) the country co-operated with many European nations, especially the British.[9]

During the latter half of the 19th century there was a decline in the economy and the country lost some of its possessions in East Africa. Towards the end of the 19th century some dissident movements took place: in 1913 a new Imam was elected in the interior, the Sultan who ruled from Muscat not having been elected. This led to the expulsion of the Sultan's garrisons from Nizwa, and Sumail. In the same year Sultan Faisal bin Turki (who had ruled since 1888) died, to be succeeded by his son Taimur. The rebellion continued until 1920 when an agreement was reached with the Isa bin Saleh, one of the dissidents' chief leaders.[10] In 1951, however, a new Treaty was signed with the British, officially recognizing the country as the independent 'Sultanate' of Muscat and Oman.

Relations between the Sultan and the Imam (Muhammed bin Abdullah al-Khalili) remained good until the latter's death in 1954 when rebellion broke again under the Imam's successor (Galib bin Ali) who wanted to establish a separate principality. In 1955 the Sultan ordered forces and gained control. The Imam surrendered and was allowed to retire to his village, but his brother Talib escaped to Saudi Arabia, then to Egypt. In 1957 Talib returned and with

followers and established himself in the mountain area, north east of Nizwa. The Sultan then sought British help. Fighting continued until 1959 when the Sultan managed to regain full authority on all the country.[11]

Between the period of 1960 and 1970 the future of the country was being debated in the UN. The country gained its full independence and became a member of the United Nations in 1971 (after Sultan Qaboos's accession to the throne).[12]

So the years between 1932 and 1970 were a bad time for Omani people under the ex-Sultan (Said bin Tamir). Omani society was in complete isolation, a policy which was deliberately carried out by the Said bin Taimur regime: Oman joined neither the UN nor the Arab League; it had no diplomatic representatives in the world.[13] There were extensive restrictions[14] put upon the country's estimated one million inhabitants. The country was living in a state very near to the Middle Ages. By maintaining such isolation on his people, the Sultan thought he was protecting them from the outside world influences, especially social ones. This policy complicated problems, and led to interruption in social security and stability. Accordingly, this resulted in a limited change in the social structure.

Said bin Taimur imposed strict control upon every individual and enforced hard punishments on whatever he deemed a violation of the tradition of the Omani society, or any abnormal behaviour thought to be imported from abroad. Travelling abroad was restricted, the media were not available (except for himself). There were no recreational facilities, and any conduct of eating and dressing which was thought to be an imitation of the outer world, and in conflict with Muslim/Islamic principles, was not permitted.[15] In a word, any project (major or minor) required his advance personal permission.

As a result of this the country lacked vital utilities and basic facilities such as health care, communication systems, schools, technical institutes, universities, etc. Oman had only three small schools, but even these were attached to the palace and mainly recruited the children

of the Sultan's private staff and some senior figures in the society. Even for these children education terminated at the end of the primary stage. Hence the vast majority of the population were deprived of any sort of formal education.

Omani society consists of four basic categories: the people of the sea who live by fishing, seafaring and trading; the agriculturalists of the Batinah coast and the South, and those of the Interior who employ the aflaaj system of irrigation; the mountain people of Dhofar and the Musandman; and the Bedouin of the desert areas.[16] Omani society was characterised by the dominance of the Family system, i.e. the rule of the prevailing tribal traditions with absolute loyalty to the Sheikh of the tribe. Ignorance and illiteracy were widespread. In turn, the economy was mainly subsistence, depending basically on primitive occupations, mainly in agriculture, livestock-breeding and fishing. Transactions were carried out in terms of kind rather than in terms of money.

These characteristics are generally regarded by anthropologists as basic features of a primitive society when they draw a distinction between this and a modern society[17] (Halabi (1984)). The Sultanate was, in a word, one of the most reactionary, and primitive regimes in the world.

1.3 Modern History: the Sultanate since 1970

Among the people who were dissatisfied with the government was the Sultan's son, Qaboos bin Said. Qaboos was educated in Britain at the British Royal Military Academy (Sandhurst). In 1970 Qaboos led a successful bloodless coup at the palace and thus became the Sultan of Oman (23rd July) hailed by people both within the country and abroad. The country was on the verge of collapse because of the civil war ongoing since 1963 (Risso (1986)). At first the people thought that the new Sultan would merely continue his ancestor's autocratic ways, but when he demonstrated his dedication to the country, he was accepted as the genuine leader. Qaboos was able to form a government which consisted, under his rule, of the Diwan of Sultani Court, the Ministry of Palace Affairs, the Council of Ministers and Cabinet Secretaries, the

Specialized Councils, the Office of the Governor of Muscat, and the State Consultative Council.[18] The Sultanate was also divided into willayets (provinces), 42 in number, each governed by a Wali (governor), appointed by the government under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior — a structure preserving the traditional links between tribal authority and the government.[19]

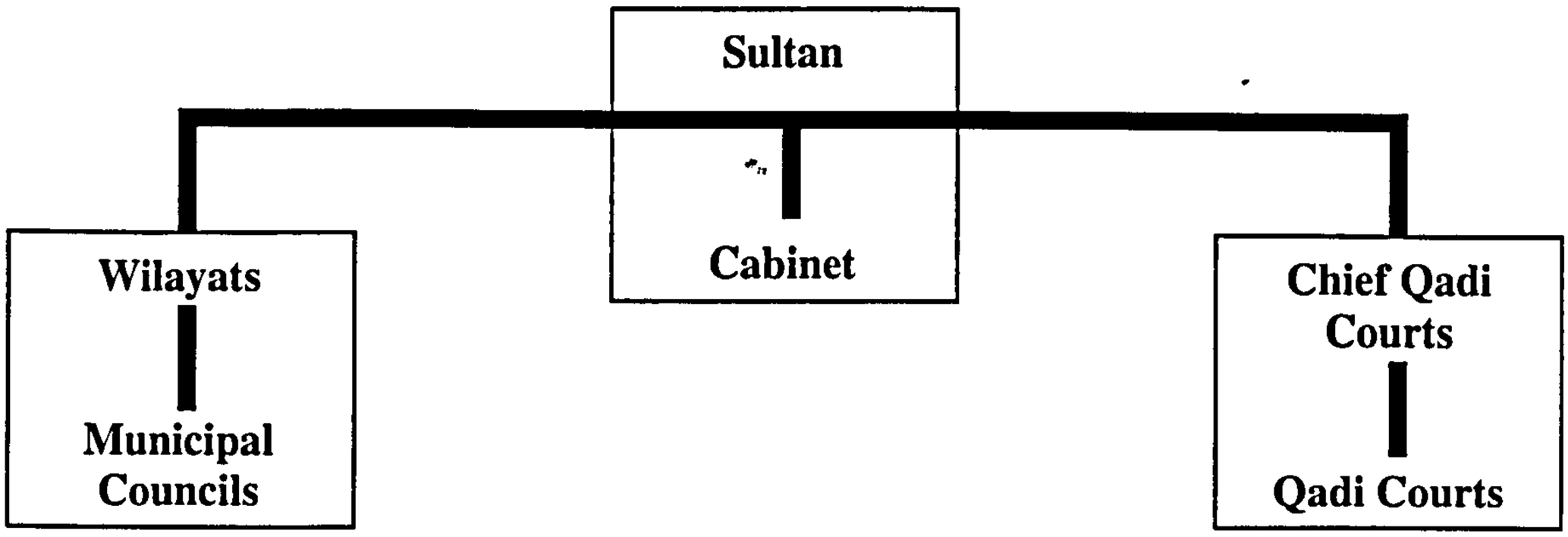
The new government soon started to modernize the country according to pre-set plans (five-year plans). Under the new leader the name of the country was officially known as 'The Sultanate of Oman'. The new government began providing the basic facilities to the people, the things which they have been deprived of for quite a considerable time and in a very strict way.[20]

The importance of the country's geographical position gave it a vital position in the whole area, especially in the last ten years or so; this of course has helped to accelerate its technical and economic advantage over a wide front. Now the country is widely open to the world, particularly to western Europe and the USA.

1.4 The system of present day Omani government

The administrative system of the State under His Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said Al Said consists of the Diwan of the Royal Court headed by the Minister of the Diwan of the Royal Court, The Ministry of Palace Affairs, The Cabinet of Ministers and Secretaries of the Cabinet, the Specialised Councils, Governorate of Muscat and the State Consultative Council. Laws and decrees are authorised by His Majesty. International treaties, agreements and charters signed or approved by His Majesty become laws from the date of their publication in the Officical Gazette. The following diagram shows the structure of the Omani government.

Figure 1.1: Organization of Omani Government*



Personal Representative of Sultan, Deputy Prime Minister for Legal Affairs, Deputy Prime Minister for Security and Defence Affairs, Deputy Prime Minister for Financial and Economical Affairs.

Ministry of National Heritage and Culture
Ministry of Water Resources
Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals
Ministry of Communications
Ministry of Education and Youth
Ministry of Interior
Ministry of Information
Ministry of Justice, Awqaf and Islamic Affairs
Ministry of Environment
Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training
Ministry of State and Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Commerce and Industry
Ministry of Social Affairs
Ministry of Post, Telegraph and Telephone
Ministry of Electricity and Water
Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
Ministry of State and Wali of Dhofar
Ministry of the Civil Service
Ministry of Housing
Ministry of Health
Ministry of Regional Municipalities

The Secretariate of the Council of Ministers is responsible for the proper functioning of the government machinery.

*This diagram was taken from George Thomas Kurian (1987)
Encyclopaedia of the Third World Vol II, p. 1497.

1.5 The State Consultative Council[21]

Oman has no legislature; all the decrees of the Sultan have the force of law. In October 1981, the Sultan established a nominative Consultative Assembly. The purpose of the inception of this Council was to implement the principle of consultation and develop the country's basic consultative machinery so that it could participate in the Government's economic and social plans. The Royal Decree granted the Council corporate status and financial and adminstrative independence and designated its headquarters in Muscat.

The members of the Council were appointed from both the Government and non-Government sectors. Originally there were 45 members of the Council, but this was later increased to 55. Of these 18 are from the Government sector and 25 from the region and the remainder from the private sector. So the main task is to comment on economic and social development and make recommendations for future policy. There are preparations for a new council (parliament) by the end of this year (1991).[22]

The economy mainly depends, of course, on revenues from the petroleum sector, although in the last years industrial diversification has been increased. Between 1980-1988 the average annual growth rate for GDP was 12.7%. In July 1990, the government announced that GDP for 1989 had increased by 10.8% to US $8,400m compared with US $7,581m in 1988.[23] Revenues from petroleum have been used to implement three development plans, covering 1976-80, 1981-85, and 1986-1990. Thus, the year 1970 is generally considered in Omani history as the watershed between isolation and the wide opening to the world; between backwardness and development.

It was the moment when new channels towards the world were initiated while allowing the opportunity for cultural exchange and interaction with world events as an inseparable part of them. Schools, hospitals, road networks and other communication facilities were initiated, in addition to other development projects necessary to the emergence of the new state of Oman.

Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 below show the changes in population, economy, and schooling:[28]

Table 1.1: Births and Deaths (UN estimates, annual average)[29]

	1975-80	1980-85	1985-90
Birth rate (per 1,000)	48.9	47.7	46.0
Death rate (per 1,000)	18.6	14.6	12.7

Table 1.2: Economically Active Population (ILO estimates, 1,000 persons at mid 1980)[30]

	Males	Females	Total
Agriculture	135	4	140
Industry	55	7	61
Services	70	9	80
Total Labour Force	260	20	280

Table 1.3: Education (Government schools for the years 1969-1990)[31]

	1949/70	74/75	79/80	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90
Prim:	3	163	237	308	326	354	367	370	388
Pupils:									
Boys:	909	36351	56409	89492	97948	106848	114630	122374	129253
Girls:	—	12225	27294	65897	77504	88148	97698	106340	113741
Prep:	—	11	114	195	213	238	249	267	283
Pupils:									
Boys:	—	437	7838	19190	21668	24337	26892	30697	35882
Girls:	—	134	2339	9124	11060	13678	16197	20333	25331
Second:	—	2	12	38	49	57	62	66	70
Pupils:									
Boys:	—	63	708	6208	6971	6832	6987	7490	9592
Girls:	—	19	235	2943	3763	4814	6318	7700	9689

From these figures (and other figures shown in the appendix) we can deduce the huge[32] increase of the government's spending towards improving almost every aspect of public facilities. This of course is very different from the figures under the previous government which are very difficult to obtain, but which can, nonetheless, be guessed.

As an example the number of schools increased from only three (for males) throughout the country (Muttrah, Muscat, Salalah with a total number of students not exceeding 909 in 1970) to 721 schools for both sexes (including private schools) in 1989.[33] Naturally the number of students was also hugely increased.

As for health services, in 1970 there was only one hospital, and very few clinics scattered here and there in the country.[24] According to the latest statistics of the Ministry of Health there are 47 hospitals, 79 health centres and 3 maternity centres with an overall total of 3,450 beds.[25]

Table 1.4 below shows the growth in health facilities in the first decade of the present government:

Table 1.4: Health Figures

	1970	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78
Hospitals	—	5	10	12	13	13	13	13	13
Health Ctres.	9	10	7*	5*	11	11	11	12	12
Despensaries	10	13	27	30	32	40	42	45	47
Beds	12	216	526	664	934	1000	1252	1409	1510
Doctors	13	46	63	86	158	153	169	211	211
Nurses	2	77	115	208	335	411	522	624	659
Health Assistant/ Sanitary Assistant/ School Health-Visitors	35	46	68	84	100	68	182	190	223

*Health Centres upgraded to hospitals.[26]

These development plans also assisted in creating new job opportunities for Omani citizens in both sectors, public and private; thus providing a regular income to almost every member of Omani society.

The revenues from the extraction of petroleum made it possible for the Government to set long-term targets and achieve them with regularity. The following table shows the export of the country's main resource, petroleum, to some of the world's markets:

Table 1.5: Export of Petroleum (million barrels).[27]

	1987	1988	1989
India	7.0	2.3	N/A
Japan	81.5	106.6	83.8
Korea, Republic	31.4	48.8	69.3
Taiwan	20.2	13.8	21.0
Thailand	7.1	4.0	2.7
USA	11.3	2.4	5.8
Total	197	211.9	215.9

As maybe deduced from the above table (Table1.5), the petroleum revenues (as well as other resources) resulted in providing for the welfare and prosperity which permeated all aspects of the daily life of Omani citizens. Consequently, many material aspects of Omani culture were, and still are, subject to faster and more comprehensive change than its religious and ethical systems have been able to cope with.

These rapid changes of the secular aspects at the expense of the religious side of life are, according to certain anthropologists like Abjern, Karl Haix and others, only what is to be expected in the circumstances; nevertheless the situation remains an uncomfortable one. This is the way the Sultanate initiated Oman's renaissance, as a contemporary nation with recognized sovereignty and occupying an important moderating role both nationally and internationally. Among the remarkable social changes arising from the flow of oil resources and the accomplishment of several development projects was the spread of free educational opportunities for each citizen, without any discrimination between sexes.

Hence, females were allowed the opportunity for the first time in Omani history to compete equally with males throughout all educational levels including the university and other training colleges. Accordingly, females participated with males for the first time in the labour market (as shown in Table 2.2).

As a consequence of such inter-mixing and education, women were given the opportunity to look for work rather than confine their role to domestic affairs (in conformity with the dominant cultural traditions prevailing in the older Omani society). Domestic affairs, for many women, began to represent a minor part of the total family task.

Oman's history in many ways exemplifies that of the Gulf States. For centuries its tribal tradition, its subsistence economy, its autocratic rulers and their changing fortunes, were typical of the region as a whole. Three things now make it stand out; the sheer scale of its oil wealth, the liberal policies of its present ruler, and the exceptional speed of its conversion

to modern ways. All these factors as it happens put it at the cutting edge of the problems of modernisation.

1.6 Changing social and family responsibilities[34]

Among the distinguished changes which arose from the modernisation process (as will be seen in details in chapter II) was the dissociation and the collapse of the extended family system which used to include the parents and the married children as well as other relatives in replacement of the family system which now includes the parents and the umarried children only. Now the family is of a small size. The woman is less busy with domestic kinship affairs; therefore, she can go to work. Consequently, the economic power of the husband is becoming less influential upon the wife compared with his influence exercised under the extended family system in Oman before the 1970's. This might probably be due to economic independency of the wife (the income generated from her work outside the home).

Social institutions have been established to replace and undertake the roles and/or responsibilities that had once been assumed by the extended family system which is now in collapse. Those roles related particularly to the vulnerable groups of the aged, orphans, widows, divorcees, handicapped, etc.

Family relationship began to take an individual form with a variety of people, i.e. not primarily the relatives, as it used to be in the past. Nowadays the woman is chosen as a wife according primarily to the multiple factors, such as beauty, education; previously, the woman was praised (and chosen) only for her household skills, religious qualities. As such, because of these conditions, there was a general tendency towards delaying the age of marriage. In the past people (especially females) married, or were being married, at an early age. Kinship was put in first place (in marriage affairs) according to traditions.

Also affected by the rapid change was a collapse in the primary relations related to respect of the fathers and the elderly of the society; adding to this the ineffectiveness of the father's

authority over his children (especially the sons). Fathers used to approve (very often choose) a wife for his son or a husband for his daughter. Now the situation has started to change and children, both male and female, have the full right to choose or refuse a certain spouse (even though this could be against parents' wishes, or against traditions). Also there was the absence of the social informal control which had been practised by the society to secure the proper behaviour of its members in conformity with its values, criteria and traditions.

Furthermore, the Omani youths (in particular) adopted the western modern style of culture in company, pastime, and leisure.[35] Boys and girls can now choose their companion more freely. They can meet and go to a variety of places together without any discipline as it used to be. National dress has been relinquished for modern foreign styles. However, the imitation was considered to be carried out blindly without recognition of its values, or careful prudence.

These things, most of which are against tradition and religion, as well as some new habits (like smoking and drinking) spread rapidly. In addition, there is a new trend towards insolence on the part of children, especially boys. Of course, these practices and habits were still considered contrary to inherited religious traditional factors. Most importantly, a lot of people (youth in particular) abandoned the five original prayers.[36]

Among the most affected fields, by the aspects of this modernization was the bringing up of Omani children (see chapter II and V). Several aspects were influential here, of these there is the growth in education of females. The number of females in schools increased from almost zero (in 1970/71) to 14,668 students (in the academic year 1988/89). The number of educational institutes established for females (schools just for girls) was more than 285 in the same year (1988/89).[37]

As a result of this females were allowed the opportunity to work side by side with males in various fields, both in the private and public sectors. This of course is to be considered a major

change in the role and position of the woman in such a conservative traditional society.

The flow of oil (and its revenues) created new economic conditions and a situation of prosperity and welfare, resulting in an increase of the family income; thus enabling it to maintain a modern lifestyle in almost every respect. This welfare state resulted in bringing in foreign housemaids (nannies) into the Sultanate.

The latest records of the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1990 was 28,006 nannies, whereas the Sultanate's population was approximately two million, according to the Development Council estimates. The number of expertise employed in Oman is 248,870. Thus in terms of the work force, nannies constitutes 11.3%.[38]

The most remarkable change in child rearing and care was to be seen in seeking the assistance of foreign nannies, who are largely brought over from south east Asia (India, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Thailand and others).[39] The foreign housemaid thus became one of the new social phenomena accompanying the new economic condition brought about by the oil revenues, and the modernization process carried out by the Sultanate (see chapter 2.5).

The housemaid started to play, to a large extent, the role of the parent, particularly the mother in the bringing up of the child in its early years. This stage of age of the child is a critical one as deemed by anthropologists and child-rearing specialists.[40] Bringing up the child (in Omani society) used to be the first priority of the mother, which has now been assigned to the nanny (see chapter III).

The mother used to bring up her child(ren) with the assistance of other family members (such as mother, sister, or even cousin), sharing the same house with different rates of contribution. These members sometimes took the mother's task (in case of her (mother's) illness, business, or whatever). Now the voluntary help of the other family members has decreased. This was of course due to various factors such as the ever-increasing lifestyle requirement and the diversity of family members' needs to such requirements. It even became difficult for the whole members of the (extended) family to stay in the same house.

1.7 The problems facing Oman

Vastly improved material living-standards, universal education, the liberation of women from domestic drudgery, the free exchange of ideas with the outside world — these are formidable achievements by any standards. But they have come at a price. For Oman the price has been too sudden and too violent a break with traditional forms of social organisation. this break (which will be looked at in detail in chapter II) has brought the loss of a number of important traditional virtues and institutions which nothing in the new situation has yet replaced. The break-up of the extended family, the consequent weakening of the family role in cultural transmission, the absence of the mother at work, have all tended to produce a situation where the traditional Islamic framework for socialisation is disintegrating, yet no coherent substitute is taking its place. Into this vacuum, the changes in Oman have brought a sudden rush of foreigners and foreign influences which have affected the traditional culture of Omani society in ways which only the ruthlessly isolationist policies of Sultan Said bin Tamur could have successfully resisted. The question then arises: is it possible to transfer the advantages of modern Western technology to a traditional Islamic society without adopting the materialistic values that so often accompany it, and without sacrificing the Islamic approach to life? Can the societies in the Gulf region achieve modernisation while retaining their original Islamic traditions, and in particular their traditional child-rearing practices? Hopefully, the answer is 'yes'. The Muslim faith has survived the Persian, Greek and Roman empires, and in the end it will surely survive consumerism. But it can only survive if its children — the seed-corn of its culture — can be brought up in the spirit of Islam.

In this area there are three major influences on the child: the family, the state education system — and the nanny. The roles of the family and the nanny will form the major part of this dissertation; but it is worthwhile looking here at the role of the state.

1.8 Education and the Islamic ideal

Ahmad (1987), in his excellent account of 'Family Life in Islam' describes the Islamic way of life as follows:

> Islam affirms God's sovereignty over the entire gamut of man's life . . . It stands for life-affirmation and life-fulfilment. It refuses to divide life into watertight compartments of the sacred and the secular, the holy and the profane. It invites man to 'enter wholly the fold of Islam' and regards the division of life into 'religious' and 'secular' as deviations from the Right Path . . . The teachings of Islam cover all fields of human activity, spiritual and material, individual and social, educational and cultural, economic and political, national and international. They cater for the aspirations of the soul as well as for the demands of the law and social institutions. Islam's uniqueness lies in spiritualising the whole matrix of life. Every activity, whether relating to things like prayer and fasting, or to economic transactions, sexual relationships, diplomatic dealings or scientific experimentations, is religious if it is undertaken with God-consciousness and accords with the values and principles revealed by Him; and it is irreligious if it is in opposition to them . . . Life is an organic whole, and the same principles should guide and govern it in all its ramifications . . . Islam makes faith and religion the basis of the entire human society, and the mainspring for the network of its relationships . . . The Islamic community is a fraternity of faith — anyone who believes in the Islamic religion and ideology is an inalienable part of this nation, whatever his race, colour, language or place of birth . . . This concept of an ideological community is not a mere moral precept; it has its social, political and legal dimensions. It produces a new infra-structure for human relations. Faith is the decisive force in this system. It gives birth to social institutions, from the

> family to the state. Islamic culture grows from this faith, in the same way as a tree grows from a seed.

This, then, is the spirit in which Islamic state education should operate. Its main objective should be to create a well-balanced personality which is independent of other personalities, enriched with stable values and religious beliefs, and with the flexibility to cope with the ever-changing realities of life; and indeed it does try to do so; but it is in danger of taking too narrow a view of its function. Religious teaching is still frequently insisted on as a preliminary to study of other disciplines, such as science and technology, though often in a rather formalistic and *in*flexible way. But in a country which is desperately short of highly trained scientists and technologists, this can be a lengthy and frustrating procedure and can risk being counter-effective. Even much further down the educational ladder, although primary school education is both compulsory and free, and although the state is working hard at increasing the provision of nurseries and kindergartens, also free, the emphasis at the moment is on quantity rather than quality, and there is a desperate shortage of trained Omani Muslim teachers. Things in the private system are no better; the schools operate as mere recruitment agencies for foreign labour, profiting from low wages and high commission.

Thus Islamic education in schools is often unnaturally segregated from other educational disciplines, instead of being fully integrated with the whole of life. There is a great need to return to the fundamental spirit of Islam, where all work or study which is 'undertaken with God-consciousness' is a religious undertaking, and where work can be a form of worship. But this spirit must be inculcated from the very beginning of a child's existence — hence the vital importance of his early socialisers; schooling alone can never succeed if this foundation is not laid. If the situation arises where a whole generation of Omani children is socialised, not by their parents, not even by their society, but by their nannies who are not transmitters of their culture, then a whole new impetus will be given to the destructive forces already at work in modernisation. Modernisation, and modern Western-type secular

education, cannot be stopped. Wives need to work, both for their own satisfaction and to supply the state's need for skilled labour. The demand for modern material standards of living cannot be reversed. Schools of the type common in advanced countries — i.e. based on objective, scientific curricula rather than on philosophical or religious ones — cannot be ruled out just because they seem to threaten traditional Islamic values. In an ideal Islamic state, there should be constant evaluation of the relationship between tradition and education. Education should never be fossilized in the name of tradition; it should always be open to scientific progress. Modern Islamic education needs to encourage academic specialisation and training, and the state now operates a social security system which makes such specialisation an economic possibility. It is true that scientific education alone, for all the benefits of applied science, fails to satisfy spiritual needs and often actually increases as well as sometimes eliminating the risks to human life. But Islam in the past has been accustomed to be open to the world and all human culture, and modern Islamic education needs to return to this ideal. In our time, the American educational scientist Dewey (Democracy and Education) (1959) echoes this concept when he defines education as a process for passing on traditional religious values while maintaining the capacity for adaption and change. This accords with the Islamic belief that continuity of culture should be dynamic, not static, especially in the material field. It should be possible therefore, provided the spirit of Islam can be maintained and strengthened, to combine the best of both worlds.

1.9 Islamic education and foreign nannies

One of the most remarkable results of the rapid modernisation of Oman, for reasons which will be discussed in detail in chapter II, has been the increase in the employment of foreign nannies. Seeking the assistance of a foreign nanny is not something necessarily wrong in itself, for what is a housewife to do faced with perhaps as many as nine or ten children and a burden of housework? But the possibility that these nannies might usurp the socialisation role of the

parents, and especially the mothers, of Omani children, is to me a disturbing one. Given the all-embracing nature of the Islamic faith, and its role as the social infrastructure of Muslim society, can we expect the child-carer from a quite different cultural environment to socialise the children in her care in a way which will harmonise with the society into which they have been born? This is a vital question for all the Gulf States, and one which requires urgent investigation. This thesis therefore is a modest attempt to investigate the role of nannies in child-rearing in Oman in recent years.

Footnotes to Chapter I

1. Oman is one of the six states of the Co-operative Council of the Arabian Gulf States, which also includes Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and UAE.
2. The Promise and the Fulfilment, p.28, Ministry of Information.
3. The Middle East and North Africa (1991), p.710. Sohar is one of the oldest cities of the Sultanate of Oman. Ever since its existence it was important as came to be regarded by people of the area: throughout history it had been a commercial sea port and centre, a naval base, a dockyard, sometimes all. Now it is still one of the country's main harbours and sea ports.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.711.
6. The word 'Imam' means 'one who sets an example'. It is also a religious name for the person who leads everyday prayers who was normally elected by a council of religious scholars, the 'Ulama'. In a word he is a religious leader who might become a political one as well. Nowadays the Imam is the top source for religious affairs, whereas the Sultan (king, monarch of hereditary rule) is the genuine political leader.
7. Ibid.
8. Said bin Sultan was a strong and a beloved leader. He gained fame both nationally and internationally. Ibid.
9. Treaties with some of these countries (as well as others) were signed for the establishment of consular relations, with the British in 1839 (there had been earlier treaties of friendship in 1798 and 1800), the USA in 1833, France in 1844. Said bin Sultan also revived Omani interests in Zanzibar and during the latter part of his rule he spent most of his time there. He is the founder of the dynasty which ruled the

island (of both Zanzibar and Pemba) until the revolution of 1964. After his death his dominion was split between his two sons, one became Sultan of Oman and the other of Zanzibar. In 1829 Dhofar became one of the constituent part of the Sultanate and has ever remained so. See Ibid.

10. The agreement provided for peace, free movement between the interior and the coast, limitation of customs duties and non-interference of the government with the internal affairs of the signatory tribes. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Claud Morris Oman: A Report (1991). London: Morris International Associates Ltd., p.6.

14. People for instance were forbidden to study abroad or to smoke, wear sun-glasses, walk in big cities after dark. Even his son, when he returned home from England, was a virtual prisoner in the royal palace and was not allowed to travel. With the discovery of oil the country became wealthier, but the Sultan held the money in his own hands; and here were the seeds of rebellion. For more information see Ibid. pp.6-7.

15. Free gatherings were also forbidden. Of course there was not an official (written) law written as regards this restriction, but these were orders passed orally to his own private assistants (walies) who were very careful in carrying these orders (again orally) and applying them upon the people. The walies were very strict.

16. The Promise and the Fulfilment, p.28

17. Dr Ali Abdul-Razzak Halabi, Lectures in Sociology (Arabic text), Egypt, 1984, pp.23-28.

18. The Council of Ministers is considered the highest executive authority, deriving its power from the Sultan. Laws and decrees are authorized by the Sultan. The Secretariate of the Council of Ministers is responsible for the proper functioning of the government organized system. It also ensures that the decisions of the Cabinet are fulfilled on time and according to the approved budget. See The Promise and the Fulfilment, p.81.

19. The Wali (who is respected by the people) liases with the Ministry (of Interior) and convey government policies to the sheiks of the tribes for implementation. See Ibid, p.82.

20. The revenues of oil helped in speeding the process; these affected almost everybody's pocket. People were able to eat, drink, or smoke whatever they liked, they could also move more freely than ever in and out of the country.

21. The Assembly's mandate is to give advice to the Sultan through its president. It sits for two years. Also there are no legal political parties in Oman. The main illegal opposition was, until 1975, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG) whose revolt was crushed in 1975 and most of its leaders surrendered in the following year. Some remnants of the Front continue to operate in some radical Arab countries. (George Thomas Kurian (1987) Encyclopaedia of the Third World Vol II, p.1497.)

22. The Sultan had decided to make some distinctive steps towards democracy. The new Consultative Council (Majlis Ashshura) will include representatives from the Walayats, and will have wide-ranging legislative powers. It will have 60 members, 59 of whom will represent the Walayats. A President will be appointed by a Royal

Decree. Each of the Walayats will nominate 3 candidates, of whom only 1 will be selected to the Majlis, without any interference by the government. A Majlis member will represent the whole nation, and the Majlis will represent the country regardless of the number of Walayats in a particular region on their population. The Majlis will have powers to review new laws and revise and re-evaluate existing legislation that has become obsolete. According to its recommendations, the government will introduce necessary amendments. The Majlis Ashshura has developed from the Consultative Council; in turn it takes democratic process a step forward; which will, ultimately, lead to a fuller democracy. See Claud Morris (1991) Oman: A Report. London: Morris International Association Ltd.

23. Since the early 1970s the economy has been dominated by the petroleum industry, of course including natural gas. In 1986 it was estimated that hydrocarbons provided 90% of government revenue, and the extraction of crude petroleum and natural gas represented 36% of GDP. Before the petroleum discovery the economy depended basically on agriculture and fisheries. The Middle East and North Africa (1991), pp.713-15.

24. The hospital was situated in Muttrah and run by an American mission; also there was a few medical clinics scattered her and there, including one clinic operated by the Omani Petroleum company. See Oman 90 issued by The Ministry of Information, Muscat: 1990, p.162.

25. Ibid.

26. The table was taken from Oman the Reborn Land, by F A Clements, London, 1980, p.83. The medical services, from these figures, cover at least 90 percent of the total population of Oman.

27. The Middle East and North Africa (1991), p.721.

28. No census has ever been held in Oman as regards the population, and estimates of the country's population are based on conjecture. According to UN estimates the population was 1,377,000 at mid-1988. For planning purposes the population is assumed to have been 2m. at mid-1988. In the same year the number of expatriate workers in Oman was estimated at 248,870.

29. Source: UN, World Population Prospectus: 1988.

30. Source: ILO, Economically Active Population Estimates and Projections, 1950-2025.

31. These figures cover general courses and not specialized ones.

32. For more details more tables will be provided in the appendix from the Statistical Book (1991) Oman: Muscat.

33. Ministry of Education and Youth (Education Planning Dept.) Yearly Book of Statistics, 1988/1989 (Muscat).

34. Average family sizes are high in Oman, and to have 9 to 10 children is not uncommon. Clearly, health conditions have improved dramatically so that infant and child mortality is now much lower and family planning is not yet practised widely. Usually, in developing countries, a reduction in the birth rate follows a fall in the infant and child mortality rate, as people recognize that they do not need to give birth to so many children in order to have security in their old age. In Oman, however, there is less concern for security in old age, since it is generally felt that the government will continue to receive and distribute revenues from oil. It is also related to the economic situation. People generally consider that they are able to afford to bring up a large family, in spite of current debt problems which are generally seen as temporary. A widespread attitude among men appears to be that a large family can only be good. Among educated women some would now prefer to

have fewer children. Significance is still attached to the old consideration that a numerous family, clan or tribal group is a strong one. Thus, in certain rural villages, some extended family members could reach as much as fifty, all under one umbrella with the oldest being the supreme power, and whose instructions will almost always be fulfilled. Here is a random example done in the Eastern region showing numbers of households:

Table 1.6: Numbers of Households in Oman: Actual and Predicted (In Salalah sub-region)

	1985			2010		
	Omani	Non-Omani	Total	Omani	Non-Omani	Total
Salalah:	4611	3884	8495	19783	6720	25593
Taqah:	355	57	412	962	143	1105
Mirbat:	372	48	420	1008	168	1176
Rural Areas:	3624	276	3900	6048	436	6484
Total:	8962	4265	13227	27891	7467	35358
In Eastern Sub-region:	497	119	616	1242	215	1457
In Western Sub-region:	768	52	820	1207	74	1281
Nejed Sub-region inc. Thumrait:	743	39	773	1586	92	1678
Total:	10961	4475	15436	31926	7818	39744

For more information see Sultanate of Oman (1988), Salalah: The Planning Committee for Development and Environment in Southern Region.

35. This was represented in late-night staying out, reckless conduct, listening to loud music (pop and jazz music in particular). The majority of these youths, however, do not understand what this sort of music means, i.e. songs are basically in foreign languages, especially English. What the youths meant is to show off that he/she is following a foreign style of life — a modernized one, according to his/her hypothesis.

36. Any Muslim is supposed to practise the Five Pillars of Islam; saying his/her prayers (salaah) five times a day is the most important of these; which also

includes Fasting (Sawm) of the month of Ramadaan; spending money (for poor relatives and people), zakat (alms) and charity; and a pilgrimage to Makah for those who can afford it (at least once in a lifetime).

37. Statistical Annual Book, Dept. of Educational Planning (1988/89). Published by the Ministry of Education, Sultanate of Oman.

38. Report and Statistics (1990). Ministry of Social Affairs, Sultanate of Oman/Muscat.

39. As regards the nannies, a study in Al-Bahren stated the following factors behind the bringing of foreign nursemaids: increase of family income, educational qualifications of each parent; in consequence, becoming involved in business. We can add here, the opportunity for women to work, more family aspiration, as well as an element of social emulation and competition. The number of women entering the field of work (due to modern life requirements) rose sharply. This basically requires the woman to leave her house; in consequence find somebody to look after the children and do some housework for the busy mother; this someone is the nanny.

40. See Jaafer Abdul-Amir Yasin, 'Effect of Family Breakdown in Juvenile Delinquency', An M.Phil Thesis (Arabic), The Lebanon, 1981, pp.16-21.

Chronology

1955 — The Imam of Oman, Muhammed ibn Abdullah, died; his successor, Imam Ghalib ibn Ali, rebelled against the Sultan of Muscat and Oman, Said bin Taymour.

1956 — With the aid of the British-led Muscat and Oman Field Force, the Sultan occupied the capital of the imamate, Nizwah; the imam's brother, Talib ibn Ali, escaped to Cairo and with Egyptian and Saudi help set up an imamate in exile.

1957 — The civil war intensified as Talib returned to Oman.

1959 — The civil war ended with the complete rout of the rebel imam.

1960 — Muscat and Oman concluded treaty with the United States.

1964 — Dhofar tribes revolt against the Sultan; the revolt escalates into a civil war as the rebel group, known as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf, received aid from the Soviet Union and neighbouring Southern Yemen.

1970 — Sultan Said bin Taymour was overthrown in a palace coup led by his son, Qaboos bin Said; Tariq bin Taymour was named new prime minister.

1971 — Tariq resigned, and the Sultan assumed the post of prime minister.

1974 — First U.S. embassy opened in Muscat.

1975 — The 11-year civil war ended as the Dhofar insurgents were crushed and their leaders surrendered.

1979 — At Persian Gulf Security Conference Oman offered new routing systems for ships through the Strait of Hormuz . . . Oman become the first Arab state to endorse the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty.

1983 — Oman and People's Democratic Republic of Yemen resumed diplomatic relations.

1984 — Oman became a founding member of Gulf Cooperative Council.

CHAPTER II: The Nanny-Phenomenon

2.1 Introduction: Nannies in relation to modernisation in the Gulf States

The phenomenon of foreign nannies is a distinctive feature of Arabian Gulf countries. It is estimated that foreign (i.e. non-Arab) workers constituted almost two thirds of their populations in the early eighties. It is difficult to establish either the size of, or the reasons for, this phenomenon, partly due to the lack of both statistical information and relevant research. Access to primary sources of data is not an easy task; in Oman for example, as in others of the Gulf States, the collation of national statistics is not as yet very extensive. However, the existence of the nanny-phenomenon, and its rapid spread among native as well as non-native Gulf families is attested by the Arabic Institute for Planning in its 1982 report, p.85. By drawing on such studies and field research as have been carried out recently in the Gulf by a variety of scholars and state establishments, **(According to some results of local studies such as El-Isa (1983), Khalaf (1987), El-Omar (1987), El-Rifai and Urman (1987), and Khalfan and Hanan (1985), the general factors which encourage the use of foreign nannies are as follows: income level, social changes and changes in family structure[1])** this chapter will map out the economic and social changes which seem likely to be the common causes of the large-scale employment of foreign nannies in Arabian Gulf families.

The introduction of nannies into the Gulf States forms part of a wider climate of change brought about by the process of modernisation in the region. These changes, as has already been described, are of two interlinked kinds: political and economic changes, and, as a result, changes to the nature of the family and its social role.

2.1.1 Economic changes

The vast change in the economic circumstances of the Gulf region is of course due to revenues from oil. In the Gulf States the huge scale of petroleum revenues combined with the relatively small populations of most Gulf countries led to a steady increase in annual income in the seventies and eighties as can be seen in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Growth of Average Annual Income from GNP for the Gulf States (US $)*

Country	1977	1979	1981	1984	1990
KSA:	8251	13966	15427	—	(To be entered later)
Kuwait:	13926	21067	20982	15285	
Bahrain:	4035	5915	8953	8636	
Qatar:	17470	22317	27425	23825	
UAE:	15970	20163	25881	15920	

***This table was taken from the UN statistics in I. A Attuy, The Impact of Foreign Nannies on Personal & Social Compatability on Primary Schools Pupils. Saudi Arabia, 1989, p.12.**

This new-found wealth has had a number of effects on the organisation and social fabric of Gulf societies, all of which are clearly distinguishable in Oman.

1) First of all, oil, and the money from oil, has brought work to the cities; and as a result there has been **large-scale migration from rural areas to urban ones**, disturbing the age-old patterns of tribal and family social organisation. Table 2.2 shows average family sizes in the various districts of Oman, arranged in urban and rural groupings. In countries where modernisation is well established, one would expect to find the larger families in the more primitive rural areas, with the smaller units in the towns. The figures in Table 2.2 show the reverse: on average, the urban areas have noticeably larger families than the rural ones. This is because the movement into the towns is so recent; large tribal or nomadic families have descended on the towns, and have not yet had time to change their family patterns. The figures actually reflect a substantial immigration from the rural areas to the towns.[2]

Table 2.2: Omani Family Size Distribution — 1985*

Numbers	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13+	Total	Average Family Size
Salalah	518	949	1525	1008	610	4610	8.9
Taqah	44	77	129	57	48	355	8.1
Mirbat	52	56	135	76	52	372	8.4
Thumrait	53	45	53	28	16	195	6.9
Urban Total	667	1127	1882	1169	726	5532	
Jebal al Qara	498	1056	1008	437	242	3241	7.2
Jebal al Qamar	93	149	143	69	10	464	6.5
East Coast	185	271	156	44	30	686	5.7
East Nejd	14	28	45	16	12	116	7.8
Central Nejd	230	298	224	104	10	866	5.9

***The Planning Committee for Development and Environment in Southern Region (1988) Salalah: The Sultanate of Oman.**

ii) The resulting increase in individual income for many (though by no means all) of these new urban dwellers, together with the availability of cheap Asian labour, led to **an increase in the deployment of foreign workers.** A huge number of these came to the Gulf and were ready to accept any sort of work, at very low wages. In Oman, the figures for civil service employment alone show that between 1970 and 1989, the percentage of native Omani workers fell from over 90% to just over 60% in less than two decades (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Civil Service Employment in Government Sector (Omani & Non-Omani) in Oman*

At the end of	Total	Omani	Non-Omani	% of Omanis
1970	1750	1630	120	93.0
1971	3112	2857	255	91.8
1972	5318	4765	553	89.6
1973	9073	7403	1670	81.6
1974	12035	9035	3000	75.0
1975	19123	13616	5507	71.2
1976	22231	15668	6643	70.2
1977	26765	17269	9496	64.5
1978	30424	18466	11958	60.7
1979	35030	21216	13814	60.6
1980	38840	23445	15395	60.4

Table 2.3 continued

At the end of	Total	Omani	Non-Omani	% of Omanis
1981	43751	26886	16865	61.5
1982	49809	29647	20162	59.5
1983	54877	33543	21334	61.0
1984	62043	37119	24924	59.8
1985	66648	39192	27456	58.8
1986	67550	40223	27327	59.5
1987	72260	42977	29283	59.5
1988	75109	45574	29535	60.7
1989	77269	47785	29484	61.8

***Statistical Book (1991) Oman: Muscat.**

Similar figures for 1988 showing the total numbers of foreign workers in the country tell the same story — nearly two hundred and fifty thousand non-Omani workers out of a population of roughly two million — very nearly a quarter. Such a proportion can hardly be without influence on the native population.

Table 2.4: Labour Cards Issued for Foreigners in the Private Sector at the End of 1988, According to Nationality

Serial No.	Nationality	Number
1	Indians	152682
2	Pakistanis	42485
3	Bangladeshis	32362
4	Sri Lankans	7963
5	Iranians	160
6	Philippinos	4761
7	Koreans	14
8	Cypriots	158
9	Thai	281
10	Other Asians	114
11	Lebanese	484
12	Jordanians	273
13	Syrians	208
14	Palestinians	32
15	Egyptians	3162
16	Sudanese	489
17	Other Arabs	339
18	Tanzanians	44
19	Other Africans	46
20	British	2476
21	Dutch	330

Serial No.	Nationality	Number
22	French	171
23	Germans	150
24	Swedes	30
25	Italians	85
26	Other Europeans	244
27	Canadians & Americans	298
28	Other Nationalities	89
	Total	248870

***Statistical Book (1991) Oman: Muscat.**

The vast majority of these workers are from poor far-eastern countries whose cultures are very different from those of the Gulf States.

iii) A large influx of female foreign workers into domestic service. The numbers of foreign workers listed under **Other Services** in the table below, second only to construction workers (i.e. manual labourers), are almost certainly those of mainly female housemaids-cum-nannies.

Table 2.5: Employment Structure in Urban Areas — 1985*

	Salalah		Taqah		Mirbat		Thumrait	
	Omani	Non-Omani	Omani	Non-Omani	Omani	Non-Omani	Omani	Non-Omani
Agriculture	262	462	24	61	16	—	48	8
Fisheries	102	4	69	—	32	—	—	—
Petrol & Gas	13	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Manufacture	58	1685	—	16	—	16	—	8
Wholesale & Retail Trade	428	2520	16	36	16	40	12	28
Construction	93	8819	4	97	4	56	—	468
Public Admin. & Defence	5070	2470	363	16	392	8	175	24
Other Services	833	4412	16	48	76	104	4	143
Not Stated	21	25	4	—	4	—	—	—
Total	6880	20401	496	274	540	224	239	679

***The Planning Committee for Development and Environment in Southern Region (1988) Salalah: The Sultanate of Oman.**

Unfortunately, statistical sources in the Gulf countries have presented information in very broad general terms; they do not provide a detailed analysis of the domestic labour force such as to enable an exact profile of the nanny-phenomenon. The sources provide only general

information on nannies, without mentioning precise details about their numbers, nationalities, or the number of families employing them. But it is reasonable to postulate that the majority of foreign workers employed in the service sector (Table 2.5) are in domestic employment; that the majority of those are female, and that more or less all of *those* are involved to a greater or lesser extent in some level of child-care. It is also reasonable to suppose that their nationalities will broadly reflect the proportions represented in Table 2.4, and that the great majority will therefore be Asian. The nationalities of the nannies in the sample investigated by the research and reported in chapter VI, bear out this projection from the figures.

Nor is it easy to arrive at a precise job-description of the nanny. Most local studies carried out in the Gulf (such as that by Labeeb Ali, 1983) suggest that the nanny is expected to carry out a wide range of household tasks, including housework of all kinds, as well as looking after the children.

Even without a more detailed picture, however, it is clear that suddenly, a whole new dimension has appeared in the socialisation process for the latest generation of Omani children.[3]

2.1.2 Political changes

Less predictably, and most notably in paternalistic Oman, oil wealth has involved a massive increase in the apparatus of the state, and in its intervention in the daily lives of its citizens. To begin with, the state secured the support of tribal chiefs who were prepared to administer state legislation within their own tribal jurisdiction. At the same time, the government began to recruit the educated men of these tribes into the public sector. This progressively weakened tribal authority, and increased popular dependence on the state. The government was able, through income from oil, to create thousands of jobs at relatively high salaries which effectively established a generation of state pensioners. Tribal leaders were involved in the administrative and power structure of the state, and for the first time, central authority was brought to bear on the nomadic population, where the traditional Islamic form of social organisation had been

at its strongest. Tribal law — which was in effect Islamic law — has been displaced by the state legal system and the police. The state has in practice taken over almost all the social functions that were formerly the responsibility of the family, including education, welfare, civil order, etc. This has been an inevitable consequence of urbanisation, and the breakdown of the old tribal social arrangements, but it has had subtle and unexpected effects on the whole ethos of Islamic society, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

2.1.3 Changes to the family

i) The change of family type from the extended to the nuclear

Some of the changes to the family and its role have already been briefly referred to in chapter I: the diminution of the parents' role as transmitters of culture and the dilution of the mother's role as home-maker. These functions are part of the essential process of 'socialisation', the complex process by which a child becomes a well-adjusted member of his society. In traditional tribal societies, characterised by the extended family, this process is shared by the family group, and even by the tribe. In a Western industrialised society, however, early socialisation has been seen as the responsibility of the nuclear family; in other words, of the parents alone. The change from the extended to the nuclear family is at the heart of the revolution in family structure brought about by modernisation; it is therefore worthwhile examining the terms, and the reasons for the movement from the one to the other.

The term 'family' is defined as two or more adults living together within a relationship which is recognised by their society. The existence of different patterns of familial setting, both traditional and modern, makes it necessary to identify each of these patterns by defining its shape. Thus we have for example the extended family, the nuclear family, and, according to Shorter (1976), the 'post modern' family. 'In the nuclear family, the main source of emotional satisfaction between the spouses, and the emotional bond between them and their children, stems from living under the same roof, creating together a small primary unit. This

constituency of one basic unit is a characteristic feature of the modern urban family, but is not the case in some rural societies, where, in Oman at least, the extended family has until very recently constituted the dominant, though increasingly not the only, pattern. Here, the process of socialisation takes place in a wider circle of relatives who live close to one another, and who jointly undertake family responsibilities such as mutual financial support, care for the sick and the elderly, and child socialisation.'

While the extended family, according to Shorter, is still found in some traditional rural areas; in most of Europe and North America since the early 19th century, 'property and lineage (have given) way to personal happiness and individual self-development as criteria for choosing a marriage partner,' (Ibid. p.5), and 'property (has been replaced) first with sentiment and then with sex as the bond between man and wife' (Ibid. p.7). As a result, there has arisen 'a new instability' in married couples, which is one component in the 'reshaping of the family currently underway.' One in four of 1970s marriages in North America, he claims, and one in 6/7 in northern and western Europe, will end in divorce — a situation similar to that in Oman (see chapter V, Table 5.12). And again as in Oman, 'This new instability . . . also results from the shearing away of the traditional couple's ties with the community, kin, and lineage. Formerly, the expectations that these surrounding institutions had of a couple, served to keep the partners together throughout life . . . integrated within a firm social order.' (Ibid.) But now, he points out, even the nuclear family is beginning to change it pattern; the older, stable relationship is giving way to one with ever-shifting family partners. As 'individualisation' proceeded, it was recognised that satisfactory economic conditions alone were not the sole requirements for families to be stable and family members well adjusted. Even comfortably situated families still had problems of personal and sexual adjustment, and they were turning to 'expert' sources outside the family for consultation and help.

ii) Changes to the function of the family

In the past, the family as a social institution had numerous functions, including the following (Bell et al., 1960):

> Economically, it formed a self-sufficient unit. Socially, it was the source of prestige for all its members. Educationally, it provided its members with the necessary training, by teaching them at an early age, not only reading and writing skills, but also the family trade or profession, in addition to moral and national values. It provided for its members all necessary protection, it was for its members the main source of religious and ethical illumination, and it was the place where the individual could satisfy his need for social entertainment.

But the complexity of modern life and the ever-increasing tendency towards specialisation demanded the creation of new social institutions, each of which is concerned with a different kind of service: educational, recreational, social, welfare, etc. Social changes have influenced individual ambitions and diversified ways of attaining social prestige. In other words, there are nowadays more institutions carrying out many of the functions which were looked after by the family in the past. For these reasons, as Bell et al (1960) suggest, the family has become confined to its basic function only; i.e. 'getting children, financially supporting them, and socially rearing them.' Even this last function is increasingly in doubt. As Shorter says, (1976) 'Other agencies now socialise and control the young. The continuity between the generations fails.'[4]

Thus in primitive societies, where the extended family prevails, there are relatively concrete social systems which fulfil a wide variety of non-specialised functions for these societies, an ethos preferred by the unsophisticated elements of such societies; the extended family, the clan, or the community at large. Since membership of these overlaps, members interact with one another in a wide variety of ways. Because of the frequency of contact and the

importance of the kin group or community, extremely close and complex relationships develop. By contrast, in modern industrial societies, where the nuclear family type prevails, the nuclear family has become specialised, as have all the other social institutions. In the educational sphere, for instance, the nuclear family is becoming the only provider of primary socialisation and socialisation for participation in family life, although it cannot provide the formal education to equip the child for more specialised activities outside the family. On the other hand, in the earlier tribal society, children as young as five or six were quite capable of looking after themselves and their younger brothers and sisters, at least for short periods, and of carrying out the lighter and simpler household tasks; whereas now from an early age they are dependent on the nanny for almost all their needs.

Another powerful influence on the outlook of the traditional Omani family has been the long and exhausting struggle with the Communist Guerilla forces in Oman. From 1964-1976 the southern part of the country was torn apart by a conflict which was as much ideological as physical, and which has left scars on the fabric of faith and belief which should underpin the social behaviour of Omani citizens.

Thus the family in general, like society, has been influenced by the historical, social, economic and urban changes which have taken place in different parts of the world in modern times — and Oman is no exception. The structure of the family has changed, and its role has shrunk.

iii) Working wives

There are a number of reasons, economic, social and educational — all of them connected with modernisation — for the increase in the number of working women in Gulf societies.

i) Economic reasons

In previously subsistence economies like that of Oman, where the extended family was the standard socio-economic unit, the sudden intrusion of the cash economy has had drastic social and economic consequences; it has broken up the extended family, with sometimes disastrous

effects on the ability of the new nuclear families to cope. The cash economy differentiates among the members of the extended family, employing only those members who are physically fit, and employing them in distant centres of employment where, for subsistence, immediate family members have to follow, breaking up the extended family and abandoning its support system. This last has only minimally been replaced by state institutions, which in any case, so far at least, are less efficient. In cities especially, little attention is paid to non-working members of society. Wages for many are low, and increasingly, mothers require to go out to work if the family is to survive, or at any rate, to achieve anything like the living standards they have come to expect from observation of Western societies.

ii) Social reasons

Mainly due to the urgent demand from the rapidly modernising states for more skilled labour, the age-old Islamic prejudice against working women has begun to be relaxed. Arabian Gulf women have begun to play a part in comprehensive development plans in these countries since about 1970.

iii) Educational reasons

Modernisation has also made it much more possible for women to be earners, because of their new access to education; and the state is eager to exploit this source of much needed skilled labour.

Yet surprisingly, the percentage of women at work in the Gulf States has remained low in international terms, with their role restricted to certain fields of employment such as medicine, nursing, teaching, the social services, the lower levels of banking and the press, and of course domestic service (see footnote 4 for more details). This does seem to cast doubt on the claim made by some researchers in the field, such as El Isa (1983), Hanan (1985), Attuy (1989) and Ibrahim (1987), that the rise in the numbers of nannies employed in the Gulf is primarily due to the increased number of working mothers.

Nevertheless, the phenomenon of the working mother has certainly contributed to increased reliance on state institutions, and even more, on low-paid nannies from the far East.

iv) The emergence of 'class'

Another effect on the family from the general rise in income consequent on the oil industry, is a new emphasis on material wealth, and with it the emergence of a class system based on money, obsessed with 'consumerism', and concerned with prestige. The increase in wealth for most families made them more ambitious in their contacts with and openness to other societies. People's aspirations rose; there was a new type of owner and a new type of consumer. Nannies have a part to play here too; they can be seen as a status symbol, and employed as much out of snobbery or social competition as from need. Nannies were employed even by families with non-working mothers, as local studies prove; people boasted of the number of nannies they employed, El-Rumaihi (1975) in his study: Petroleum and Social Change in the Arabian Gulf, p.30.

Similarly, wives may employ nannies as part of their new-found social and economic liberation, to free them for an enjoyable social life (El Omar, 1987). An important part of this new social life consists in acquiring and lavishly furnishing big houses, and entertaining and being entertained on a grand scale. Entertaining guests is one of the traditional social customs which the Gulf family has upheld for centuries; but in the nuclear family it becomes difficult to cope with the large numbers of guests who may be expected at almost any time. The nanny is therefore useful both in helping to cater for these guests, and in keeping the children out of the way. When it is the family's turn to visit, somebody is required to look after the house. Invariably this is the nanny.

(The various motives for employing nannies in the families targeted by the research are investigated in chapter VIII).

2.1.4 Effect on the employment of nannies

The large-scale employment of nannies in the Gulf States generally, and in Oman in particular, is therefore closely associated with the process of modernisation; through the break-up of the extended family, through urbanisation and the employment of women, and through the increase in income and class-consciousness which national prosperity has brought. It has also been encouraged by the state. To begin with, in the early 80's, the Omani Immigration Office imposed very strict rules on the hiring of nannies; families had to prove genuine need, and provide stiff financial guarantees, (1500-2000 OR — a prohibitively high figure, renewable annually) before they were allowed to employ one. Now these requirements have been relaxed, and provided the nanny passes health tests, only the size of the family dwelling is a required criterion for employment. The proliferation of agencies offering foreign domestic employees is another factor in the increase in this market. These agencies can call upon a never-ending supply of cheap foreign labour, and it is in their commercial interest to place as many as possible of them in jobs, for a handsome commission.

Figures from the Gulf States other than Oman echo this situation, with studies in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain showing for the most part similar increases in nanny-numbers, and concurring in the general view that rising incomes and social aspirations, as much as the lack of extended family support or the absence of mothers at work, are the motive forces behind the phenomenon.[5]

2.2 Nannies in relation to Islamic tradition

Modernisation has also tended to weaken the influence of Islamic religion and culture, which are under attack on all sides:

i) from the outside, through the infiltration of Western ideas and customs, especially in relation to the role of women, but also in a whole range of ethical positions and standards of behaviour;

ii) from the inside, through the assumption by the state of what were once direct family responsibilities, especially for socialisation and religious and moral education.

2.2.1 Western infiltrations

Women in some Arab societies are now beginning to modify the traditional female dress in public, and are becoming accustomed to working alongside men in various occupations, in public as well as private sector employment. Young people of both sexes have adopted Western styles of dress and amusement, and they can mix and go unchaperoned quite freely. Smoking and drinking are becoming widespread. Yet the sanctity of marriage, and all the precautions against promiscuity that help to safeguard it are a central tenet of the Islamic faith. As Ahmad (1983) puts it, 'the entire system operates in a way that strengthens and fortifies the family. Its discipline is not an imposed discipline, but one that flows out of every individual's commitment to the values and ideals of Islam.' (Family Life in Islam, p.35). Or rather, this is as it *should* be, were other influences not at work in the society.

2.2.2 The effect of state intervention

The state does no more than its duty in providing education and welfare for those of its citizens who, through the disintegration of earlier social systems, have no other resource. Nevertheless, because the family is such an integral part of the Islamic social order, the state, by weakening its social status and diminishing its role in public life, is actually helping to destroy the religious basis for its own existence, and forwarding the march to secularisation. The reason for this lies in the all-embracing nature of the Islamic faith, already referred to in chapter I. Because *all* aspects of life are potentially religious, if approached in the right spirit, *every* social relationship is subject to the Islamic code. Marriage represents an elaborate social contract, with clearly laid down rights and responsibilities (note the reciprocity) for all parties — husband and wife, but also parents and children, and the whole gamut of other family members — all codified in Islamic law. When this system is undermined, the whole moral framework

of society is shaken, because the delicate nexus of individual and communal responsibility each for the other, and the duty of maintaining the social fabric and handing it on to the next generation, are damaged possibly beyond repair. It is the duty of Islamic parents to bring up their children in the spirit of Islam. If they abrogate their responsibility in this, whether to the state or to others, what are we to expect from a generation neglected by parents, and brought up by nannies and housemaids? From untutored youngsters, brought up to consume luxury goods they have exerted no effort to attain?

2.2.3 The role of nannies in the socialisation of children in an Islamic society

The Islamic process of child-rearing was the adopted system in the Arabian Gulf family. This of course concentrates, like any other western society, primarily on the unity of the family: the Islamic family is the principle unit of residence, of distribution and consumption, and the basic unit of production. Through this important system, society reproduces itself; children were born and reared; and men and women of (the future) were made (see chapter III).

Bringing up children (according to Islamic rules) may perhaps be distinguished in that it normally goes through three marked (but gradual) stages of age:

First stage.....From 0-7 years

Second stage.....From 7-14 years

Third (final) stage.....From 14-21 years

The basic source of Islamic values for bringing up the child is firstly the Holy Quran. Secondly comes the sayings and deeds of the prophet (which are ultimately taken from the Quran). Thirdly, we have the application of these teachings by the Sahaba (followers and companions of the prophet) in the Islamic traditions.

The Holy Quran is quite clear about how Muslims should bring up their children in general. The prophet interpreted, preached and acted in this light. He taught Sahabas how the child should be cared for in matters regarding faith, physical development, emotions,

education (and so on) according to the age of the child, as mentioned above. The prophet even taught the father how to choose the child's mother in the first instance. By adopting these teachings, the child found security and identity and found entire satisfaction in both physical and emotional needs.

For example *Surah 1 (The Calf)* instructs women to breast-feed their children to a maximum of two years; and that fathers should provide food, and clothing and sustaining in the case of divorce: 'The mothers shall give suck to their offspring for two whole years, if the father desired to complete the term. But he shall bear the cost of their food and clothing on equitable terms. No soul shall have a burden laid on it greater than it can bear. No mother shall be treated unfairly on account of her child . . . ' (HQ. 1:233). Again, *Surah 3 (The Women)* deals with the social problems which Muslim communities are facing. The Surah consists of two parts, of which the first talks about women, orphanage and the family rights and affairs (in general) and the various relationships of the family and its members; giving suggestions and solutions to any problems these members may come across.

Due to various circumstances, most of which being mentioned earlier, parents became less careful and less wary about the exact application of these rules. Child-rearing was more or less the same but the ethical or religious side was less concentrated upon than it used to be. More welfare, by the State, was available for the child; nonetheless, some grievous problems have arisen. These problems include, among other important things, delinquency, non-compliance and disobedience.

In this situation, nannies are in a critical position. If Oman, and the other Gulf Arab states, are to succeed in absorbing the process of modernisation with the best of their Islamic culture intact, then the socialisation of their children in the spirit of Islam is vitally important. Already families are in danger of losing some parental influence and authority to the state. It is therefore essential that they take personal responsibility for the early socialisation of their children,

or at least entrust it only to those whom they can count on to have their, and their children's, interests at heart. Devoted servants and nannies are not unknown to history, in various societies, including Muslim ones. Do the foreign nannies at present working in the Gulf belong to this category? Have they infact usurped the mother's role as chief socialiser of her children? If so, how much do they pose a threat to Islamic values? What *proven* effects do they have on the children they have in their charge?

These are the questions which the research sets out to address.

2.3 An hypothesis for testing

The research was undertaken with a particular hypothesis in mind, suggested by personal observation, and by the phenomena described in chapters I and II. This was:

> that nannies have an intellectually retarding and culturally alienating effect on the children in their care; that they impair the successful socialisation and, in particular, the psychological, linguistic and cultural harmonisation of children in Omani society (see 'The purpose of the study', chapter IV, 4.2).

The reason for choosing this rather pessimistic hypothesis lay in the feeling that, should there prove to be any substance in it, urgent action would be needed for the sake both of the children and of the society, to rectify the situation. Proposals to this end appear in chapter XI.

Footnotes

1. Such studies include for instance, *The Phenomenon of Foreign Nannies: Causes and Effects* (1987) by a group of scholars (Kh. A. Khalaf, B. O. El-Omar, H. El-Rifai, and H. Umran), El-Manama: Follow-up Office Labour and Social Affairs Council of Ministers in the Arabian Gulf States. Other studies also include M. Gh. El-Rumaihi (19) *Petroleum and the Social Change* in the Arabian Gulf. Kuwait: El-Wahda Publishing Press.

2. **Table 2.6: Household Composition in Three Areas of Oman**

Item	Sohar		Sallah		Hambar	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Incomplete household	3	7	4	6	1	3
Solitary couple	4	10	10	14	3	10
Elementary family	14	35	26	38	15	50
+ Additional dependants	10	25	4	6	1	3
Polygymous household	1	2	2	3	5	17
Patrilateral joint households	7	17	10	14	5	17
Matrilateral joint households	1	2	13	19	—	—
Average size	5.9		4.7		4.8	

Table 6 reveals that 42% of the households censued contained 4-6 persons, whereas the largest single household contained 15 members. Of the 703 persons included in this census, only 5 men lived alone. Also men who become single will seek to remarry or become a migrant worker, or if they are old they may choose to move in with a married child or some other close relatives. For more details see F. Barth (1983) *Sohar: Culture and Society in an Omani Town.* John Hopkins University Press, p.114.

These changes in the economic situation (in the Gulf States) was coupled with immigration of population from the country to the city especially among young tribesmen. This of course entailed the increase of the size and population of the

cities, especially the industrial ones.

This in turn resulted in the change of the structure of the traditional Gulf family: the traditional type of the family gradually began to disappear leaving the nuclear type to take its place which enlarged the burden of the mother who had been helped by relatives, such as a grandmother, aunt, or even a cousin. Thus was the need for the foreign nanny to fill in the gap. However, dependency on nannies in caring for children has many disadvantages among which are the following:

i. A nanny is not a specialist in child rearing. The only qualification she possesses is that she was forced to accept that type of job to meet certain needs for a certain wage.

ii. She ignores much of the proper care and even the main principle of child care and could not therefore give what she does not have.

iii. It becomes even worse if the nanny is an expatriate 'foreigner' and will therefore have a negative effect on children that she cares for them. This usually occurs through:

a: The different social background (orientation) and socialisation.

b: The concept of 'acceptable' and 'non-acceptable' behaviour in the host country.

c: Language, values and norms, culture and habits are also different. Relationship with adults and peers are of central significance in the development of all children; of particular importance is the development of an internal working model of close relationships based initially on the first attachment to parents.

Under the extended family system children are considered the 'social security' for parents and particularly the mother; therefore families intend to have as many children as possible for security against poverty and other risks in old age. However, under the new changes, wage labour, particularly for the mother, has

substituted for the children as a 'social security' and dependency of the mother. The viewpoints of mothers, towards the children has adversely changed: to have few children (usually 2-3) as pregnancy and delivery constitute a constraint against regularity of her work and enforces her to absent herself from work particularly during the first period after delivery. The first priority of having children became much more lower in her preference hierarchy. Not only that but children turn to become a heavy economic burden and not a 'social security' at all and by all means as they were once under the previous social system that had to collapse as well as its viability for existence and persistence.

3. Local studies carried out in the Gulf have shown that there is not a precise definition for the concept of a nanny.

There was mixing between a nanny and a child-minder. In fact there was not a specified task allocated for these nannies. After investigations and interviews, by such researchers as Labeeb Ali, it appeared that 59 percent of the people (interviewed) stated that the nanny was being used to fulfil household duties, 37 percent believed that her work (nanny's work) involves general household service as well as child-rearing (see Khalaf (1987) p.32).[19] So, with the lack of the precise fact about nannies' tasks, it becomes difficult to specify the exact assignment of the foreign nursemaid. However, after interviews, reviews, consultation and study, the general daily business of the nanny can be summarized as follows:

— Common household works are the first things which the nanny is supposed to carry out; this includes, house guarding, serving food, dish washing, washing and ironing of clothes.

—The second task the nanny is often asked to undertake is rearing the children and taking care of them: feeding them, waking them up (for school),

helping them to put on their clothes, taking them for a walk or an excursion.

— The nanny might help the child with his school homework and his studies, but this was in very few cases, simply because almost all nannies were illiterate, and non-native speakers.

In addition to these general obligations, the nanny might be trusted to look after the elderly, do their shopping, as well as other duties which the nanny provides for every single member of the family inside and outside the house. This of course shows how big the role the nanny plays in the Arabian Gulf family.

In the previous times the Gulf family used to undertake all the domestic affairs, despite the hard environment, and under severe conditions: there was no electricity, no piped water, no suitable heating facilities to keep warm in winter, and so on. In a word the wife did everything manually. Nowadays almost everything has become comfortable and modernised and can easily be acquired.

4. This does not mean that the nanny was needed mainly because the woman went out to work. A good deal of these women wanted to have more leisure time. They wanted to enjoy themselves and to meet other fellow-women for a variety of social activities (see El-Omar (1987)).

According to official statistics in the Gulf States for the year 1975, women's activity in the economy was below average: in Saudi Arabia for instance women formed only 2.2 percent of the total labour force; in the Sultanate of Oman they formed 0.3 percent; in Bahrain 4.9 percent; in UAE 1.1 percent. The highest of the percentage was in Kuwait, where it reached 7.7 percent of the country's total labour power (see El Isa (1983) p.12).

During the late 1970's there was speculation that the number of economically active women should be increased, but in fact the level remained more or less the

same until the following year (1983). Yet the woman's role was restricted to certain fields of work such as medicine, nursing, teaching, sewing factories, personal and social services, as well as the private sector such as the female banks and press especially in Saudi Arabia.

Thus, according to the local studies the case of the working woman is not the main reason behind the phenomenon of foreign nannies in the Gulf: other factors were involved such factors including social trends in response to economical change and modernisation. These aspects of modernisation were reflected in the family attitudes and life style in the Gulf.

Big Houses and their many Accessories:

Some families built and lived in big houses, with many apartments and accessories, which were not easy to clean and maintain. There was also a competition for buying luxurious furniture which in turn needed some efforts to conserve, clean and maintain. With big houses come parties and festivals; in consequence, many kinds of meals and dishes. The wife did not have the full time (and sometimes the experience) to arrange and organize and almost always depended on the nanny.

Entertaining Guests:

This is one of the traditional social phenomena which the Gulf family has valued for a long time. It becomes difficult to cope with big numbers of guests whom could be expected almost anytime; hence the nanny would be encouraged to help with serving these guests and care for the children. On the other hand, when the family itself is visiting, somebody must remain to look after the house. Invariably this was the nanny.

Some Changes in Family Structure:

Primitive society in the case of the Gulf can be defined as a tribal society in

which the influence of the state was absent in the past. The chief of the tribe had most of the authority over his people. The economy of the society was subsistence level with all the people of the tribe co-operating to achieve it.

The economy depended overwhelmingly on self sufficient tribes, where camel herding was the main means of producing food and shelter as well as a limited range of commodities for exchange or barter with other groups. The tribe itself was a big extended family grouping consisting of up to five generations. Here women play a very important role in daily active life, so they worked from early morning till late at night, while men stopped work in the afternoon. The woman in such a society was a very hard worker for the benefit of the whole family.

In the previous society children of age between 5 and 6 were well prepared to look after themselves and their younger brothers and sisters (at least for a short time); also to fulfil certain lighter domestic housework. This is of course to encourage children to participate and be responsible and, in consequence, to prepare them for major tasks when they grow older. This is no longer the case. Children from an early age depend on the nanny in almost everything they need.

At the beginning of this century some important structural changes began to take place. The economy of these societies became progressively monetorised,[5] and the modern state affected the position of the family structure. It also affected the position and influence of the chief of the tribe (from whom the family derived its strength and authority) by approaching him more closely, and trying to convert him to its side. Once the chief of the tribe became biased, the government began asking him to apply state laws strictly upon the tribe. At the same time the state began to recruit the educated men of these tribes in the public sector. This gave some young men a new independence from tribal authority.

The aid and development programme of the government has thus led to changes in a variety of aspects of the traditional way of life and economic circumstances. These changes have been directed at a population which was still, to a great extent, caught in the past in its traditional way of life. There was a quick and rapid change in almost all the provinces.

The government created thousands of jobs at relatively high salaries; money was available to the majority of families from a variety of sources and there was a great change in the infrastructure of society particularly the nomadic one. So there were important changes under extensive state control over all areas: political, economical and, most importantly, social. Tribal leaders were involved in administration and power structure of the state; partial social rehabilitation of underprivileged population groups through their economic advancement; increased importance attached to material wealth and professional position, as opposed to descent of traditional values.

Probably the most important feature of these changes was the total control exercised by the state over the nomadic peasant population. A number of important functions which had in the past been purely an internal tribal matter have been taken over by the government authorities. The security of the public is now for example the responsibility of the police, the militia and the military.

The arrangements for the provision of a social infrastructure, including education, medical care and religious instruction, are additional examples of social developments which are now overwhelmingly provided by the state. Tribal law as such has been displaced by the state legal system and the police. All these changes helped in a profound change and accelerate decay process of traditional social order.

The adoption of a materialistic outlook is one of the trends affecting a large part of the family structure. This is related to the rapid development which in turn led to loss of inherited cultural traditions. Thus there was an emergence of a modern western way of life and the consumer's attitude that go with it. But these changes did not emerge as a result of an industrial revolution, as the case in Europe, which had caused a conspicuous change in the family structure. Rather they emerged as a change in the economy caused by the exploitation of oil.

5. However, what follows has been primarily acquired, as mentioned above, from the studies carried out in this field by a group of local researchers as regards the impact of foreign nannies and the common features of the Gulf family in the Gulf countries (see El-Rumaihi (1985), Izziz (1980) and Biblawi (1978)).

In Saudi Arabia there was an increasing demand for foreign nannies especially from Asia and Africa: the Asian or African workers or nannies take less money than ordinary native workers (or nannies), they work longer hours (up to 10 hours per day), and they are in most cases ready to fulfil jobs which any other person might not do. Other reasons include their availability, but most importantly they abide by rules and they know how to be very obedient (see Ali (1983)).

Also important in this context is the belief of native people who think that this foreign labour force is living only temporarily in the country. But in fact this is not often true, because these people basically came here for the simple fact that they had no job opportunities in their native countries; in consequence they like to stay as long as possible. Almost all of these people tend to renew their visas of stay; the average time of stay is about 10 years. Field research carried out by the Common Council for Labour Force has proved the fact that Asian Labour Force is increasing in the country because the common interest of the agency office (responsible for

bringing these nannies from Asia), the employer and the employee. The common interest here is basically financial and economic: the agent gets his commission from the employer who in turn will get cheap hand; the worker (nanny or even other) will get a job and get the money he/she mostly needs (see Abdul Mu'ti (1982)).

As stated, no precise details have ever been revealed of the number of nannies working in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. However, under the item 'Personal and Social Services', sometimes under 'Other Services', this was as follows:

> In 1979-1980 the labour force was 602.8 000.
>
> In 1984-1985 was 848.8 000.
>
> In the year 1989-1990 the labour force was 729.1 000.
>
> (see Attuy (1989) p.29-40).

This means that there is an obvious decrease in the Personal Services (as occurred in the improvement plans); as such there was a marked increase in this force during the past 8 years 1980; the plan shows that this labour power is going to decrease in the following years, for no obvious reason.[13]

Research carried out in Kuwait has supported the view that using a foreign nanny has no negative effects upon children. But the big question that emerges now is why would parents (being able to rear and bring up the child) use foreign nannies for such a small task such as household duties? What is the benefit of having such a vast number of foreign nannies in the country as a whole, especially as some families have more than one nanny? (see *The Effects of Nannies on the Kuwaiti Family* (1983) The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs).

Local studies have also suggested some basic social and economical motives behind such employment of nannies.

These include:

a: The rise in the standard of living

b: Women going out to work

c: Prestige and social ambitions

d: Imitation and emulation

Researchers in Kuwait believed that these elements helped in the bringing of nannies to fulfil household and other domestic duties; these nannies were mostly brought over from countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka, India and the Philippines.

The number of families in Kuwait using foreign nannies in 1970 was 7211, i.e. 16 percent of the total family numbers in the country. In 1980 the number has doubled to about 28333 (see Maki (1980) p.59 and also Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (1983) p.12).

In Bahrain research has shown that the phenomenon of foreign nannies has spread more among families where

a: both the father and mother were educated to A-Level or University-level (or more).

b: the father works in certain specialized professions, technical or executive, or in the private sector.

c: the monthly income 400 Dinar (or more); people with families get more than this. This sum was equivalent to about £600.

d: there is more than one child aged 6 or under.

e: the family lives in cities, especially the big ones.

f: the family normally lives in a villa or big houses (6 rooms or more) with a garden where children can play.

(see The Arabic Institute for Planning (1983) p.85).

In fact Bahrain witnessed, during the second half of the 1970's, very rapid developments on all sides, including social, economical, commercial, architectural, educational and health affairs. These improvements created important movements in the size and framework of the economic structure of the country. The report of the Establishment of Planning and Economical Affairs of the Ministry of Finance and National Economy indicated that the (GNP) Gross National Product rose from 4689 million Bahraini dinar in 1975 to 15461 million Bahraini dinar in 1981, 55%. This of course led to the bringing of Asian non-Bahraini nannies as well as workers.

According to population statistics in 1981, the total number of Bahraini families was 33800, while the total number of foreign nannies working in houses was 3520, that is a total of 10 nannies for every 96 families, i.e. about 10% of families have nannies (Ibid. p.6).

So the phenomenon of foreign nannies is considerable: relevant information is very hard to acquire and studies in this context were almost rare. So with the absence of hard facts about the current figures of foreign nannies, the size and impact of the phenomenon remains unclear, though the phenomenon was there spreading rapidly among most of the native Gulf families as well as other non-native families living in these countries (see Khalaf (1987) p.85).[18] It is only recently that studies have began to emerge and facts to appear in these countries.

CHAPTER III: Socialisation Theory in the Family

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Background to socialisation theory

3.3 The concept of socialisation

3.4 The importance and objectives of socialisation

3.5 Responsibility for socialisation

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3.7 Modelling

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3.1 Introduction

Psychologists are agreed that education and child-rearing are of vital importance to any society. They suggest two reasons to explain this importance. One, which has received much academic attention, suggests that family and education are the prime agents in the socialisation of the infant or child, and their eventual emergence as responsible and caring citizens of society. The other is only marginally less important to those societies such as the U.K. and Oman which are firmly rooted in moral and religious traditions. Surprisingly, however, it has been the focus of much less critical concern. The role of education and child-rearing as transmitters of heritage, and of the moral and religious values of a society, is one which psychologists in the west have rarely defined.

Jonathan Gathorne Hardy's (1972) *British Nannies* in a primarily socio-historical and anecdotal fashion, does address this aspect, but otherwise it is largely ignored. Yet the relationship between socialisation and culture, which will be discussed later in this chapter, is strong.

3.2 Background to socialisation theory

Socialisation is a term used in both social psychology and sociology. It was used for example in 1939 by Park and Dolland in their book *Sociology* to refer to the process through which an individual becomes a 'person' and/or social member. The term was also used by Danzinger (1971) in a discourse entitled *Individual and his society*, to refer to the *effect* on the individual of the society in which he lives. To understand the various approaches to the concept of 'socialisation', we must first consider the work carried out in recent years by developmental psychologists on the nature of child development.

An extremely useful summary in this area can be found in Bee's most recent work *The Developing Child (1989)*. Of particular interest to our purpose is her definition of 'environment'; in the review of the topic in the subsequent pages, I shall heavily rely on her account, which brings together with exceptional clarity and comprehensiveness the distinct

but increasingly convergent insights of professional child psychologists on this essential framework for the present study.

Bee begins by laying out very clearly the competing claims of heredity and environment to be the deciding factors in child development. She points out that until recently, interest had focussed almost entirely on the family, and especially the mother.

Although Bee concludes that most modern researchers favour an interaction of inherited and environmental factors, quoting studies by Horowitz, and Scarr and M'Cartney, she makes it clear that, among the various current theories, all but the purely biological approaches emphasise to a remarkable degree the vital importance of environmental influence.

Psychologists now, strongly influenced by Bronfenbenner and many others (cf. Horowitz, Lerner, Pederson, Sameroff) have widened the scope to include the whole social system in which the child grows up, of which the education system, or for younger children, day-care provision, e.g., nannies, is a central part. This *sociological* perspective, which as Scimecca (1980) defines it, 'locates the source of human conduct outside of the individual and in the various social instruction and structures' is endorsed by sociologists such as Kaplan (1965) who refers to the importance of the parents' role in socialisation, and Aberle or Brim and Wheeler (1966) who underline the effect on socialisation of social systems or the relationships between social institutions.

Bee (1989) categorises the different approaches to development into four main theories: (i) the 'biological'; (ii) the 'learning'; (iii) the 'psychological'; and (iv) the 'cognitive'. Of these, the biological and psychoanalytic theories assume the biggest 'given' input into the processes of change. To theorists like Gesell, universal human senses govern development. To Buss and Plomin, or Thomas and Chess, individual genetic heredity dictates temperamental as well as intellectual development, in a purely quantitive sequence.

Although psychoanalysts, from Freud to Erikson place considerable stress on the *interaction*

of instinct and experience, they all assume basic human instincts as the ultimate programmers. Unlike the maturation theories of Gesell, Erikson's conclusions suggest *qualitative* changes in development, some of which may never be reached if the appropriate stimulation from the environment is lacking. The main emphasis of the psychologists, however, lies on the *processes* of change, rather than on the *agents*.

In direct contrast to these two schools of thought are the cognitive developmental theories of Jean Piaget and his disciples. These emphasise the child's individual role in determining its development, rather than that of forces, heredity or instinctual, outwith his control. For Piaget, the development of 'concepts, strategies, and assumptions in which the child plays an active part' (cited in Bee) is what governs its mental and social growth. Here, again, however, the environment plays a vital part — it is the material on which the child's cognitive powers can act. Nevertheless, as Bee puts it, such an approach suffers from too great a concentration on *thinking*, rather than on emotional relationships, and on *things*, rather than on *people*.

Of the four approaches, the one which Bee at least tacitly endorses, and certainly the one which seems to offer the best *single* basis for a study of environmental influences on child development, is that of the Learning Theorists. Here, Bandura's approach offers a comprehensive, complex and constantly maturing rationale of children's behaviour. It is not the mechanical approach of the Radical Behavourists. Bandura (1977) claims "except for elementary reflexes, people are not equipped with inborn repertories of behaviour; they must learn them." Arguing on the same lines, Bee asserts that "hormones or inherited propensities can affect behaviour, but specific experiences with the world around you are the stuff of which development is made."

To Bandura a child is not a passive agent, like Pavlov's dog. Like Erikson, Bandura believes in *interaction* — the tendency of the child to model itself on the parent of the appropriate sex.

This idea of 'modelling' will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.3 The concept of socialisation

Socialisation in developmental psychology refers to the early stages of induction of an infant or child into the culture's values, rules, and ways of social interaction.

The concept of socialisation used in the present study is a blend of sociological and psychological approaches, and owes much to Bandura. It is concerned with both *agents* and the *processes* of change; it is both child-centred and environment-conscious. Like Davis (1969) and Vernon (1965), I see socialisation as the process which shapes the new-born individual into a social human being. Like Fairchild (1958), I see it as the socio-psychological process through which an individual is created under the influence of learning systems that are interrelated with institutions such as family, school, work, playgroups, peers, etc.

In line with the Arabic psychologist Abu-Alneel (1984) I define socialisation as the process including all the characteristics which a child acquires from its family, and through which it builds up a socially, physically, and psychologically comfortable and smoothly-developing personality at various stages of growing, such as sucking, weaning, toilet-training, cleaning, feeding, co-operation in play and competition with others in all situations of life, such as work, recreation, etc. And like both Dunkan (1968) and Bandura, I see it as an ongoing, lifelong process that stamps an individual for life.

3.4 The importance and objectives of socialisation

In the period of infancy a child is unable to satisfy its own needs both physically and psychologically ; therefore it is dependent on an adult, or adults, usually its mother, for satisfaction of those needs. The child's reliance on the mother continues until it starts gradually to acquire the various elements of its culture and so begins to assume a role in the family and comply with the group norms.

Thus the formation and shaping of the child's personality begins in accordance with the

prevalent culture of the group to which this child belongs. When the personality of the individual is well formed and the child is able to conform with its culture and satisfy its own basic needs independently, then it could be said that the family has successfully played its role in the socialisation process of the child.

The best example to illustrate the importance of socialisation and its role in the formation of personality may be found in studies on isolated children conducted by Kingizly and Davis (1969). The authors stress the vital role of the socialisation process in the formation of the personality and the vital part played by social groups such as the family as being the milieu in which an individual lives and in which he is exposed to socialisation.

But socio-psychological growth is not a one-way system. The mutual social interaction that takes place between the individual and his social group is also important. Social contact and communication is an essential element in socialisation. Thus, the social formation of a human being is to be seen as the most important objective of the socialisation process where that formation is consistent with the social group culture to which the individual belongs.

3.5 Responsibility for socialisation

Socialisation, as we have seen, is the complex process by which a child becomes a well adjusted member of his society. In order to extend the range of his social contacts, interactions and communications, the individual requires experience *outside* the family. It is often, for example, the nursery which provides the child with the opportunity to communicate with others, thus giving support and enhancement to the socialisation process. The nursery also helps to strengthen the child's personality, independence, self-reliance and curiosity to learn. But while this process must take place both inside and outside the home, most researchers would agree that the family is the most important of all social institutions that influence child socialisation. In fact the family is often called 'the basic social institution' because of its important functions of procreation and socialisation, and because it is found in some form in all societies.

Socialisation is largely directed by the family, though this does not negate the role of other systems and social institutions that contribute to the socialisation of the child alongside the family. The family can therefore be seen as the developmental context of the individual (see Tyszkowa (1991)).

3.5.1 Some definitions of the family

A family in Islamic terms is two or more persons living together who are related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption. By this definition, the term 'family' refers to a basic kinship unit, in its minimal form consisting of a husband, wife, and children. In its widest sense, it refers to all relations living together or recognised as a social unit, including adopted persons (Ahmad (1983)). As we have seen in chapters I and II, the two standard types of family in Oman are the extended and the nuclear. The extended family is one that includes three or more generations. The term is applied to any grouping related by descent, marriage or adoption, that is broader than the simple parents-and-children variety (Barth (1983)). For example, an extended family might include grandparents, their unmarried children, their married sons (or daughters), together with their spouses and children. The nuclear family by contrast is the basic unit of organisation, composed of a married couple and their offspring. The nuclear family may be a separate or an integral part of a larger family.

3.5.2 The importance of the family in the socialisation process

The importance of the family 'stems from the fact that family members are the first and often the only social contacts that a child has in the early years which are crucial in social development. The interaction and emotional relationship between the infant and its parents will shape the child's behaviours in subsequent social relationships. In addition, the beliefs and attitudes of the culture are filtered through the parents and presented to the child in a highly personalised and selective way. The achievement of this function by the family depends to a great extent on the solidarity of the family members and the way its social structure

has been built.' (Broom and Selzink, *Sociology and Social Integrity;* Prentice Hall, 1954, p.230). Or as Tyszkowa (1991) puts it: (*The role of Grandparents in the Development of Grandchildren as perceived by adults and young adults in Poland.* In P. K. Smith (1991) (ed.))

> it is in the family that a person acquires important cognitive, social and emotional experience, as well as essential cultural tools for its elaboration and structuring.

It is important to view the family in terms of an interacting unit in which the characteristics and behaviour of each family member interact with and shape the responses of all other members. The importance of the family relationship, to the individuals involved and to the society, can be attributed to the emotional attachments that stem from the intimacy of daily associations, and from the role it plays in establishing a way of life through the instruction of children as well as from the fact of blood relationship. Clearly, the larger the family group, the more pervasive its influence in this role.

3.5.3 The structure of the Gulf family

The extended family is especially familiar in the Gulf region. The idea of uncles, aunts, cousins and especially grandparents sharing a household along with parents and children is a common and traditional one. A characteristic of this society has been a deeply ingrained respect for such family bonds. The role of the various members of the family were usually clear, and religion played an important part in family life. The Islamic view is that everyone has his or her role in the family group, with its accompanying rights and responsibilities. Religion and the family are so closely entwined that it is largely through the family that the most important values, moral and cultural, of the Islamic society are inculcated.

The extended family, which for centuries was the basic social institution; the focal point of social cohesion, and the basic unit for reproduction and production, both social and economic, has been considerably transformed in recent years (see chapters I and II). Social, political and economic developments have altered its structure and functions, causing a more complex,

and in the public mind, a more confusing pattern of family groups. But although the conditions of modern society in the Gulf region have brought about a decline in the number of extended family households, the accumulated traditions gained over the years that support a larger conception of the family have not by any means disappeared. Out of choice, necessity or a sense of family responsibility, it has been common for close relatives, even if leading separate lives, to draw together and take part in the duties and satisfactions of a common home. Especially in difficult times, such as the death of a spouse, or in cases of economic need, it is customary for the broader family to come together for mutual sustenance, and for the purpose of maintaining or rebuilding a secure home life.

3.5.4 The importance of the family in socialisation in the early years

Many studies have been conducted on the family's effect on the child in the early years of life. These have generally concluded that the family is the main source of security and stability for the child for the following reasons:

i) The family is the source of satisfaction for the child of most of its needs.

ii) The family is both the physical centre and the centre of communication for the child.

These are two very important factors in ensuring its growth and development (Swaif (1970) *Psychology and Social Integrity*).

On the importance of the family in the socialisation process, Bassard and Stocker (1957) have claimed that there is a certain kind of satisfaction which no other social group can provide the child with except the family. Such satisfaction includes love, affection and companionship, since the child always needs to feel that it is beloved and welcomed by those around it. This feeling is most easily attained within the family milieu.

The family system, of course, does not exist in isolation from other social systems. The family both affects and is affected by such systems. This mutual interaction is reflected in the system of socialisation adopted by the family.

3.5.5 Islamic socialisation theory

Gunilla Hallden, in an article on *The child as project and the child as being; parents' ideas as frames of reference,* (Children & Society, Winter 1991) has this to say:

> Every culture generates frames of reference to understand why people behave the way they do. These frames of reference are not formulated in any strict or formal manner as in psychological theory, but rather take form in narratives about how people are, how they act and why they act the way they do. The 'folk psychology' that can be extracted from narratives can be seen as social constructions which provide a key to understanding the mentality prevailing in the culture. In this perspective it is interesting to know how parents describe their children. What conceptions and explanations do they use? How do they deal with child development and with their own role in relation to that development?

In the case of Islamic culture, such as is involved in this study, the frames of reference are in fact 'formulated in (a) strict and formal manner', though it could be said that they are derived from a narrative of a rather special kind. But the Quran can indeed be seen in one aspect as 'a social construction which provides a key to understanding the mentality prevalent in the culture.' The main aim of Islamic education, based on the Holy Quran and the teachings of the prophet Mohammed, is to create a rounded and well-balanced personality, independent from other personalities, and enriched by stable values and religious beliefs, yet within the flexibility to cope with the constantly changing circumstances of the real world (see chapter I). The Quran offers a complete educational philosophy; a philosophy of balance, between material and spiritual, body and mind (Qutab (1988)). In its reconciliation of social, spiritual and materialistic considerations, it is probably unique. In fact the Quran contains possibly the first, certainly one of the earliest, treatises on child socialisation in the world, handled with the kind of minute detail to rejoice an educational scientist's heart.

Islamic socialisation theory begins with a division of the educational process into five stages of growth:

i) Antenatal

ii) Infant (0-7 yrs)

iii) Pre-adolescent (8-12 yrs)

iv) Teenage

v) Adult

Each of these stages has its own sets of goals, and a prescribed method of attaining them.

i) Islamic ideology recognises man's sexual needs, and their importance in the preservation of the species; and like Christianity, tries to harness them, through marriage, to religious ends. But where Christian admonition begins at the marriage ceremony, Islamic prescription starts with the selection of the wife. (In neither religion is it thought necessary to lay down principles of choice for the woman). Since child-bearing *and child-rearing* are the most important functions of the wife, her good health, education, and most of all her genuinely religious nature, should be the primary considerations in the choice. In this way, any child of the union should begin life from its conception with the best possible chance of successful socialisation.

ii) Once the child is born, the first thing he should hear is the congratulations of family and friends to the parents, (to give him a sense of being valued), and prayers for the successful outcome of the new relationship. On the seventh day, the Islamic emphasis on charity and social responsibility dictates that when the child's first hair is cut, its equivalent in gold or silver must be given to the poor — the earliest example in the child's socialisation of the interrelation between religion and social organisation. Breast-feeding is seen as extraordinarily important, both for the child's physical health, and as a way of ensuring emotional bonding to the mother; Islamic rules consequently prescribe a set period for this. (The importance

of such bonding will be discussed later in this chapter). To the Islamic socialisation theorist, it is more important than to his/her Western counterpart that the focus of such bonding should be the child's natural mother, since she is the most likely source both of affection and of cultural conformity. Any other focus is in danger of harming either the child's emotional development or his harmonious socialisation. The mother should remain the child's chief nurse until the end of his seventh year, since she is physically and emotionally most readily adapted to the purpose.

During this and the following two stages, the family environment of protection, harmony and love are the essential setting for the child's physical and emotional growth, and for the preservation of its innocence.

iii) In the next stage of childhood, both in the home and at school, the child should learn the religious and ethical codes of his society: to say his prayers, and also to absorb the Islamic principles of conduct, which combine in characteristic fashion the practical and the ideal, as follows:

- To respect and obey one's parents
- To observe the importance of cleanliness
- To respect one's elders
- To help other people, and especially the needy
- To tell the truth and keep one's promises
- To observe punctuality
- To keep good company
- To provide charity to the poor
- To treat animals with kindness
- To be modest
- To create good relations with those of different religions.

It is the responsibility of the parents at this stage to monitor the child's companions so that these principles are not threatended by external influences.

iv)/v) The teenage and early adult years involve rapid intellectual growth combined ideally with continued development of moral responsibility, especially in the sexual field, so as to preserve the sanctity of marriage. At the same time, a relationship of mutual trust and respect should be established between the young adult and his/her parents and elders, in readiness for future harmonious participation in the adult world.

All this is laid down and codified in precise practical detail in the Quran, and consequently in Islamic law. In this way, responsibility for socialisation is unambiguously attributed, first to the husband in choosing (and supporting and being faithful to) his wife; then to the mother in suckling and rearing her children, and to the family in supplying a protective, pious and loving environment; and finally to the family in alliance with society; in providing a balanced education which gives due weight to intellectual, physical, emotional, moral and religious stimulation and growth. (For more details, see Allouan (1981)).

3.5.6 The family size

The functioning of the family is influenced by the number of individuals in the family. There are both negative and positive possibilities for socialisation in each of the extended and nuclear family type.

In the *extended* family, for example, the range of social interaction circle to which the child is exposed during socialisation can become too wide diluting the bonding effect, reducing the amount of any one adult's time spent with the child and confusing the child as to its role within the family group. On the other hand, by reducing the domestic load on the mother, the extended family can also free her to attend her child's needs in a positive way. In the *nuclear* family, much depends on the family circumstances. For example, the family of two working parents whose job takes them away from home for varying parts of the day will depend for

the socialisation of their children on other persons and/or social institutions such as relatives, nursery, nanny, housemaids etc. This of course will limit the role of the family, particularly the mother, in the socialisation process.

3.5.7 Social roles in the family

The social role is a pattern of behaviour related to the status of the individual who is expected to behave in consistence with that role. The most important social role in the family is that of the mother and the father, followed by that of the child itself and the siblings.

Parents should meet the developing physical and emotional needs of their child so as to establish the familial bonds critical to every child's healthy growth and development, and to safeguard the continuing maintenance of these family ties once they have been established. The child's many needs will turn the physical tie between them into psychological attachment. Such constantly ongoing interaction between parents and children becomes for a child the point of departure for an all-important line of development that leads towards adult functioning.

The *mother's* role is of special importance because she is the person to undertake the responsibility of socialisation after the birth of the child. A tender awareness of this responsibility is essential to successful socialisation. The mother's role may therefore be considered as the most important social role in the child's life; it is upon this role that many of the child's attitudes in life are determined.

Kamel, quoted in Schleifer (1986) referring to the Muslim mother early in the history of Islam, describes how in Madina the mother sought knowledge for herself and her child. She used, he said, her knowledge in her daily life, in caring for the generation in which she lived and the generation she prepared for the future. Hammudah (1982) makes the point that although the ultimate responsibility of both parent and child is to Allah, this does not invalidate the principles of intergenerational concern, kindness and mutual obligation, especially in matters of subsistence and general core.

The Muslim woman has a distinctive role to play in the day-to-day operations of the family. Her role is basic and necessary to the harmonious atmosphere amongst its members. The Muslim mother, in addition, is affectionate and kind to her children, often placing their needs before her own.

In his presentation of the manners in Islamic life and bringing up children, Schleifer (1986) argues that parents should concentrate all their efforts to train their children in piety and honesty and consider the greatest sacrifice too little to achieve this purpose. This, he says, is an obligation laid up to them by religion; it is a favour that they owe to their children; and it is the greatest good that they can do to themselves. The priority of the mother in nursing and early child-rearing derives from her care for the children, and her attentiveness to them, her friendliness and her patience.

The mother in Islam is placed in a lofty position, that of the greatest respect, but this does not occur in a vacuum. Islam points out the great effort and struggle which the acts of pregnancy, childbirth, nursing and rearing of her children involve. Because of this effort, be it physical, emotional or mental exerted in this direction, the mother is elevated to a higher position of esteem in the eyes of her family and society. It involves her active participation in her family affairs. Islam characterises the mother in terms of two aspects: one which aligns itself to responsibility, and another which is attributed to natural, God-given qualities, including both the physical exertion of childbirth and conscientious rearing and nursing. These two aspects are not mutually exclusive, but rather supportive of each other, thus buttressing a state of equilibrium which is the desired atmosphere in the Muslim household.

The Prophet (narrated by Ibn Umar) said:

> Each of you is a guardian and is responsible for his ward. The ruler is a guardian and the man is a guardian of the members of his household; and the woman is a guardian and is responsible for the husband's house and his offspring; and so each of you is a guardian and is responsible for his ward.

Another set of emotional characteristics of the mother singled out by the Hadith are (1) affection, and (2) generosity. First, mother's affection for her children is regarded as a normal emotion. A woman who does not feel affection for her children is exhibiting abnormal behaviour, according to Islamic thought. In addition, the exhibition of such affection is a characteristic which endears her to her husband, thus strengthening the bond within the members of the family unit.

The second of these characteristics is generosity. Generosity can be explained in many ways — in terms of a willingness to give one's time to one's children or give assistance when needed. Islam clarifies her role of providing her children with religious knowledge, piety, good conduct and morals. A mother must discipline her children and teach them obedience. At the same time, she should be a good companion to them — sharing, understanding, and generous.

Until comparatively recently, the role of the *father*, except as a breadwinner, has been much neglected. But in his impressive review of research findings as a guide to 'Making Decisions about Children', Schaffer (1977) emphasises the importance of fathers as second only (and then not always) to mothers as source of attachment for infants. Quoting a study by Cohen and Campos (1974), he says " . . . even at the youngest age . . . father is already an object of attachment for most infants . . . Already at 7 months, i.e., the age when focussed attachment responses such as proximity seeking, touching, wanting to be held and reaching to both parents . . . At neither of the two age points (7-8 months and 12-13 months) was there a preference for one parent over the other." Schaffer concludes that in these studies for instance, both served equally as attachment figures. On the other hand, the same studies reported that such responses as smiling, laughing, looking, and vocalising, were more directed to the father. This appeared to be accounted for by the different kinds of experiences fathers tended to provide in comparison with mothers. As analysis of the observed interaction showed, while mothers most often held the babies to perform some care-taking act, fathers held them in order to play with them.

In reference to child education, Yusuf (1979) relates education to his discussion of child rearing and in discussing father's role says: 'the best gift that a father can bestow upon his son is to arrange good education and training for him.'

The emphasis on the socialising role of fathers is endorsed by Gottfried (1991), who provides statistical support for the proposition that 'father's involvement at age six was related to more maturity in children's social development, and was related to higher IQ and achievement.

Research has also shown the influence grandparents can have on their grandchildren's behaviour. According to Smith (1991), for example, grandparenthood is an important part in the life cycle of most people. It is important, says Smith, both as a personal experience and for its impact on others. Tyszkowa (1991) in her study of the grandparents' role in children's development in Poland argues that

> as biological ancestors, grandparents hand down to their children a proportion of thier genes. As such, they can influence the formation of grandchildren's experience in kind and scope. They may not only have the impact on the shaping of the individual experience of the latter, but may also enrich them with some experiences of their own life.

Close contacts, interactions, she concludes, and especially conversations with grandparents play an important role in the elaboration, ordering and evaluation of grandchildren's development. Indeed, when older people live close to their children's families and visit them regularly, there are not only benefits of child care but also the specially friendly relations that can develop between members of alternating generations.

Finally, the role of the child itself, as Piaget and his disciples have argued, is an essential factor in the equation. Its alertness and responsiveness to the process of socialisation, and its acceptance of its expected role within the family are crucial to its eventual assimilation into its society.

Failure, confusion, or conflict in any of these roles is likely to affect socialisation. If, for example, a working mother is obliged to be away from her house for long periods of the day, then *unless adequate substitute care is provided*, both mother and family may fail to play their proper role effectively in the socialisation process.

3.6 The importance of early attachment and bonding in the socialisation process

Many studies have pointed out the importance of the role of the mother in the socialisation process. As Muhammed (1988) points out in his book, *Marriage with Foreign Women and the Impact upon Arabian Gulf People*, for example, Freud points out that adult personality is directly related to the way in which infantile physiological urges are channelled. Variations in practice, such as whether the child receives breast or bottle feeding, whether it is fed on demand or by schedule, the age at which the child is weaned, and the severity of its toilet training would thus account for variations in adult behaviour.

Psychoanalysts like Freud and Erikson, initiated the emphasis on the instinctive bond between mother and child. Two of Erikson's ideas have been especially useful in the present study: (i) his concept of 'psycho-social stages' in development, which has in part determined the age parameters used in the present study, and (ii) his concept of the specific stage in particular which he called 'trust and mistrust', and which subsequent researchers have labelled 'the period of attachment'.

Erikson's suggestion that, as Bee put it, 'the first attachment relationship is an important ingredient in forming (the child's) internal working model (for future relationships)' has been confirmed by Bowlby (1987). In his study for the Social Commission of the United Nations in 1948 on the needs of homeless children, Bowlby powerfully stated the case for assigning maternal deprivation in the earliest years of childhood, governed most sociological thinking for several decades. Although his theory has undergone some degree of modification since then, the importance of early attachments to the child has not seriously been challenged.

Bowlby asserts that a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with the mother is essential in the early years. The capacity to care and feel deeply about others is potentially available for every child, but according to Bowlby, unless it is elicited and sustained without a break in the first two and a half years of life, it will atrophy, and the child's relationships will be severely affected. In other words, unbroken mother love is vital during this period, and any amount of subsequent love cannot make up for earlier deficiencies.

Arguing on the same lines, Schleifer (1986) says:

> There is no better or healthier substitute for a mother's affection and concern for her children, as expressed in nursing them and just being there when she is needed, especially in the period from infancy up to the onset of adulthood.

In her additional chapters to the second edition of 'Childhood and the Growth of Love', Ainsworth softens the categorical nature of Bowlby's claims for the irreversibility of deprivation damage, and makes clear that these adverse effects differ in nature, severity, and duration, and that these differences are themselves related to qualitative and quantitative differences in the deprivation experience.

While accepting the importance of attachment, and discussing the *focus* of attachment, Schaffer suggests that neither a person's responsibility for a child's physical care nor her constant availability can guarantee that an attachment will actually be formed. Sometimes a child will become intensely attached to his father or an older sibling, though he cannot see these so often, and sometimes his mother, though a constant companion, comes rather low on his preference list.

'Mother' need not be the biological mother. *She can be any person of either sex*. Nevertheless, while Schaffer disputes the overriding importance of the biological mother in the attachment process, he does not question the crucial nature of early attachment on the infant's part, or bonding on the part of some adult, in successful socialisation of the child. The formation of

the child's first emotional relationship (more often than not with the mother) is widely regarded as one of the most important achievements of childhood. It is from that relationship that the young child derives its confidence in the world: the sheer physical availability of the other person spells security (Tyszkowa (1991)).

On the other hand, as has been mentioned earlier (3.5), the child's wider social environment is by no means unimportant. This may be true from a surprisingly early age. Even before the nursery and the school, siblings and early companions (see chapter IX, table 9.20), and the whole complex of the extended family, can contribute to the child's social experience and confidence. A recent Swedish study by Andersson (1992, p.21) makes this point very forcibly. He contrasts the favourable results of early day-care — from as early as the first year of life — on Swedish thirteen-year-olds, with the detrimental effects on Texan children claimed by American researchers in a very similar study (Vandell & Corasaniti, 1990). As Andersson says, 'To experience several settings instead of one and to meet and interact with many caring adults and peers in a friendly, high quality setting may be a form of stimulation with positive, not negative, effects.' Even so, he stresses that 'this may be especially true if parents and children are given ample time to be together during the infant's first year, as is the case in Sweden with its generous parental leave system.' Parental bonding, in other words, is still an essential groundwork for all subsequent socialisation.

There are other interesting pointers in his article. As he points out on p.33, 'day-care in Sweden is highly subsidised. Parents pay only somewhere between 10% and 15% of the real costs, and the rest is paid by the state. And since most of the costs are subsidised, poor and rich families usually have the same (excellent) standard of public day-care.' This emphasis on 'caring adults', 'a friendly, high quality setting', 'generous parental leave', and subsidised costs is very relevant to the recommendations for future policy in Oman made at the end of this study.

Andersson ends with the following hypothesis, which I strongly endorse:

> A hypothesis for further investigation suggested by this study (Andersson, 1992) and Vandell and Corasaniti's (1990) is that the quality of care experienced in infancy is vital for later development. If infants are offered positive experiences, warmth, and high-quality care, they may enter a positive trajectory that can promote development for many years to come. If they instead are offered low-quality care and negative experiences, they may enter a negative trajectory with possible long-term negative outcomes.

This hypothesis relies on the concept of *modelling*, which is an important aspect of the theory of socialisation on which this study is based, and which will be the next topic for discussion in this chapter.

Three conclusions have emerged from the preceding discussion:

1. Early attachments do matter, wherever the focus of the attachment may be.
2. The nature of these attachments will determine, to a large extent, the *style* of the child's socialisation.
3. While the mother is the most natural focus for the child's first attachment, she is not *exclusively* so; as Schaffer (1977) concludes on the basis of recent research: 'It is clear that mothering need not be a 24-hour-per-day activity, and that children are not inevitably harmed by the mother's daily absence at a job outside the home . . . It is not so much the quantity as the quality of interaction with the child that matters . . . There is no reason why the mothers of young children must at all costs resist going out for work, or why, if they do go out to work, they should feel guilty about doing so. As long as the child has a continuing relationship with the mother, being cared for by others does not *necessarily* produce any adverse effect and may even be an enriching experience.

These conclusions suggest three implications in connection to the present investigations

1. Nannies in themselves are not necessarily harmful.
2. Much depends on the degree and *focus* of the child's first attachment.
3. If the primary attachment is to the nanny, then she will, through modelling, determine the nature of the child's socialisation. For this reason, therefore for our purpose, it is essential to examine (a) the attachment patterns of children with nannies in Oman, and (b) the type of model generally offered by the nanny.

3.7 Modelling

In addition to playing an important role in socialisation by verbalising the rules of the culture and rewarding or punishing the child's behaviour in relation to these cultural standards, the parent socialises the child by serving as a model for the child to imitate. This idea was embraced by Erikson who used it to express his notion of *identification* — the tendency of the child to model itself on the parent of the appropriate sex. This primitive form of 'conditioning' theory is of significant importance to the present research. Erikson's description of Observational Learning, or Modelling (including what he calls 'vicarious reinforcement' — the influence of seeing the result of others' behaviour) bears directly on the situation which is the main concern of this study, and gives substance to the suspicion that foreign nannies may have a formative influence on Omani children.

Using Bandura's arguments, Bee has made the observation that 'the full range of social behaviours, from competitiveness to nurturance, is learned through modelling — by watching others perform those actions . . . A child's continuous exposure to . . . antisocial models makes it much harder for his parents to reinforce more constructive behaviour.' Even if we do not assume that nannies in Oman are prone to 'antisocial behaviour', we have good intellectual grounds for supposing that, as Bee says (1989), paraphrasing Bandura once again: 'What

children learn from reinforcement and from modelling is not just overt behaviour, but also ideas, expectations, internal standards and self-concepts . . . Once those standards and those expectations or beliefs are established, they affect the child's behaviour in consistent and enduring ways.'

The same point is made by researchers working in very different cultural settings. The Islamic social scientist Yusuf (1979), in *Etiquettes of Life in Islam* writes:

> Always present a good practical model before the children. Your own life is a mute but permanent precept to your children. Children constantly learn and adopt lessons from your own conduct in life.

Similarly, Sara Harkness (1992), in her introduction to *Cross-Cultural Research in Child Development*, commenting on an article on Efe infants and toddlers (Tronick et al., 1992), remarks that it defines the child's 'developmental niche' (Super & Harkness, 1986) 'in terms of three components: the physical and social settings of everyday life, culturally regulated customs of care, and *the psychology of the caretakers*.' The article, she continues,

> 'presents observational data on an important aspect of the physical and social settings of daily life for Efe infants and toddlers: In whose care, and in whose company, do these children spend their time? Whiting (1980) has argued that much of behaviour is determined by the characteristics of the interactants, that ''the company they keep'' is a central determinant of children's development. Tronick . . . (proposes) that the development of a sense of self is likely to be mediated by one's experiences in the social environment.'

(She makes a further comment indirectly relevant to this research, that 'the Efe data are particularly valuable because there have been few quantitative studies on the social environments of infancy among technologically simple foraging societies.' It is my hope that in a very small way the data gathered for this research may also help to break new ground.)

Such observations on the vital role of modelling in the formation of character and beliefs are of course not new. As Ignatius Loyola has so often been quoted as saying, as long ago as the 16th century: 'Give me a child until he is seven years old, and he is mine forever.'

Theories of observational learning of this kind have an obvious applicability to the psychological basis of my enquiry, since nannies are clearly likely to be 'the company (children) keep', and the role models constantly before them, more especially if they should happen to be the focus of early bonding on the children's part. The 'psychology of the caretakers' is therefore a very important 'component of the child's developmental niche.'

Among the many areas in which a child-carer who is alien to the child's natural family can affect its socialisation, even when attachment and bonding have successfully taken place, are those of **culture, language and discipline.**

3.8 Culture and socialisation

Social values are a complex system that includes value judgements (either positive or negative, acceptance or rejection) with meaningful recognisable implications about things, subjects, etc. in life. It reflects our interests, our objectives and needs, and underlies our entire social system and the culture in which we were brought up.

Social values also reflect the norms and prevalent behavioural patterns, as well as the cultures of individual social groups. They therefore differ from one part of the country to another according to the social changes and development taking place in a particular society. This means that the sub-culture to which an individual belongs is responsible for determining the behavioural patterns that conform with that culture, hence helps individuals to conform their immediate family group.

Socialisation, therefore, is affected by the prevalent values in the family, regardless of their nature or type. This is because the function and role of socialisation is to transform values of the family culture to its new members in order to enable them to conform with their society.

Two points must be made here. First, it is possible that in some cases family values might lead to the formation of individuals' personalities in a way that helps them to conform *only* with the family from which they acquired these values. This kind of isolation from the mainstream seems a possible danger where foreign nannies influence the socialisation of their charges. Second, it is important to distinguish between the entirely proper transmission of cultural values through socialisation by the family, and the quite different process of *indoctrination.*

As Garforth (1985) points out 'human beings adapt to and reflect the context of their lives, the total context, cosmic and cultural, but most obviously the latter; . . . the adaption is inevitable; each of us absorbs the cultural context of his native land, learns its language and customs.' And he goes on to quote Sir Fred Clarke, 'No amount of indiscriminate denouncing of so-called 'indoctrination' can change the necessities of the process by which we become civilised human beings. A child cannot even learn its mother tongue without being indoctrinated.'

Indoctrination in the condemnatory sense, as Barrow and Woods (1988) demonstrated, requires three conditions: it is the *intentional* imparting of an *unshakable commitment* (i.e., one which involves a closed mind) to a particular *rationally unprovable* doctrine. Such indoctrination may occur in particular families, in Oman as in other parts of the world, but it is not an essential feature of socialisation. Thus as socialisation helps the individual acquire prevalent and social and cultural characteristics, this would seem to indicate an obvious relationship between the cultural pattern of a particular society and socialisation — a view confirmed by Mead when she says that the experiences a child acquires in the family, whether urban or rural, will have a clear effect and influence on him (Abu-Al-Neel (1984)).

Socialisation, as Davies (1969) says, is not simply the process of learning the specific skills of tool-using, language and social organisation but is also the learning of these cultural forms of behaviour as they are defined by a particular society.

Socialisation is essential to complete an individual's personality growth so that he can experience the same type of culture as other individuals in his social world. Therefore, socialisation is always understood as 'the lifelong process through which the human organism learns a culture or possibly several cultures.

The cultural aspect of socialisation, and the possible effects of nannies upon this, is of great interest to the investigator. However, since an academic framework for the cultural perspective is lacking, or at best sketchy, the present study has focussed on other aspects of socialisation, in particular on the socialisation consequences for Omani children of nanny-care.

3.9 Language and socialisation

The role of language in the social world covers a wide range of social interactions. Therefore, language is one of the most significant factors of primary socialisation. Individuals normally act upon one another in the social world through language. It is the medium through which the existing world-view of parents can be transmitted to their children and so to the next generation. Language is the medium through which that culture itself, and its social behaviour can be transformed, since language is always the currency of individual and social interaction. In this connection, Serpell (1976) says:

> A language is a very obvious candidate for emphasis as a mediator between culture and behaviour. Not only is language widely regarded as man's most distinctive behavioural characteristic within the animal kingdom, but it is also a widely recognised distinguishing characteristic for different cultures.

Similarly, Bee (1989) emphasises the importance of language in child's development. Basing her conclusions on Bronfenbrener's concept of 'the ecology of development', she summarises the dimensions of family life which act as variables in the child's developmental environment. One important variable, she suggests, is the amount and richness of language spoken to the child and by the child, and the amount of conversation from the child that the parent encourages.'

It could be said that entrusting such a function to a stranger, especially one from a different linguistic background, may significantly affect a child's development. One of Bee's variables — cognitive enrichment of the child's environment both animate and inanimate, is clearly related to the concept of language, and while the economic circumstances of the family are perhaps more influential in this context, there is also a danger that the cognitive stimulus provided by the nanny will be at best alien, and at worst non-existant.

3.10 Socialisation and discipline

Another variable discussed in Bee's dimensions of family life concerns the 'emotional tones' of the family — its warmth, indifference, or outright hostility to the child. The warmth or otherwise of the family atmosphere clearly affects the attachment situation, and here again the nanny brings a new element into the equation. In particular, as Macoby (quoted in Bee) says 'warmth . . . makes children generally more responsive to guidance, so parents' affection and warmth increase the potency of the things that parents say to their children and the efficiency to their discipline.'[49] In addition to playing an important role in socialisation by serving as a model for the child to imitate, the parent socialises the child by showing the rules of the culture and rewarding or punishing the child's behaviour in relation to these cultural standards. The parent's job in this context is one of teacher. Where this disciplinary role is assumed by the nanny, some difference may well be expected by the nanny, in the efficiency of the discipline. The child may undergo cultural changes as a result of daily contacts with other cultures. This concept of 'control' has been singled out for study by researchers who have emphasised its crucial importance in successful socialisation (Baumrid in the 60's and 70's; Patterson, and Barnard, Bee and Hamilton in the 80's).

3.12 Socialisation and family attitudes

Bee has summarised the whole range of family attitudes to socialisation.[1] She bases her summary on a classification by Macoby and Martin, showing a descending scale from an

authoritative, co-operative attitude on the part of the parents, through over-indulgence and permissiveness, to repressive authoritarianism and, worst of all, neglect or indifference. Neglect in the home leads children to seek role models elsewhere, and to antisocial behaviour in adolescence (Block, 1972; Pulkkinen, 1982). It is important therefore to find out where nannies are located on the scale. This is the main concern of the present study.

In summary, socialisation in developmental psychology, is the early stages of induction of an infant or child into a culture's values, rules, and ways of operating. It is the family which represents the different situations that the child may come across in its life, and provides it with the multifarious opportunities arising from the acquistion of language. Thus, the child's first habits emerge through the family experience and are shaped by it.

The Islamic view is that everyone has his/her role in life, with its accompanying responsibilities to others. It does not prevent persons of aptitude, male or female, from making use of their talents, provided that they are beneficial to themselves and to society as a whole.

CHAPTER IV: An investigation into the use and effects of nannies in Oman

4.1 The importance of the study

4.2 The purpose of the study

4.3 The research objectives

4.4 The study design

4.5 Methodology

4.6 Analysis and conclusions

4.1 The importance of the study

If there is a region of the world which has witnessed rapid and consecutive prosperous changes in a variety of fields in this century, it is the Arabian Gulf region. The changes include almost every aspect of life: economic, environmental and social.

What helped in speeding the process was the economic revenues caused primarily by the flood of oil more than three decades ago. This made the area attractive for persons with economic ambitions both locally and internationally. These radical changes had a major impact on the traditional and moral values of the Gulf people.

A great number of working people poured into the Gulf countries from various parts of the world, especially from south east Asia (see Table 3 in chapter 2). These people, of course, have their ideology, tradition, and values which in many respects differ considerably from those of the Gulf people. Oman is to be considered one of the most important countries in the region, because of its location, and its natural resources, particularly oil.

The present study tries to tackle one of the phenomena generated by the impact of economic change upon the social and educational system for the Gulf families in general and Omani families in particular. The phenomenon to be researched is employment of foreign nannies and their influence upon child rearing. This study attempts to reveal the nature and impact of the phenomenon upon society and education so that it be assessed and dealt with accordingly.

4.2 The purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to test a specific model of nanny-care in Oman. Chapter III of this thesis outlined the aspects of socialisation in which the influence of child-carers from outside the family — such as nannies — might be expected to play a decisive part: the all-important areas of modelling belonging, and cognitive and linguistic

development. Certain assumptions about the nature of their influence in these areas prompted the investigations on which this thesis is based.

The hypothesis which the research was designed to test was as follows: **that nannies have an intellectually retarding and culturally alienating effect on the children in their care; that they impair the successful socialisation, and in particular, the psychological, linguistic and cultural harmonisation of children in Omani society.**

This model involves a comprehensive psycho-social-cultural conception of nanny-care. First of all nannies are a socio-economic phenomenon; that is to say, they are one of the social symptoms of recent changes in Oman such as have been illustrated in chapter II. Next, psychologically, separation of children from the mother at an early age can be traumatic and can produce lasting damage. At best, the nanny is a mother-substitute; but even this, as we have seen, can be at least *partly* damaging. The nanny in Oman, with her alien culture (see chapter V), is likely to set up a conflict for the child between parental/community values and those of the carer. This conception of the problem underlay the model, and dictated the study design.

From the author's experience of Omani society, nannies play a very important part in contributing to the psychological and cultural development of Omani children, because the nannies frequently remain with the family for a considerable time, sometimes for as long as four years. This period is sufficient for children to consider the nanny as a good alternative to their mother, especially when the mother is out at work or visiting another friend.

Inevitably nannies have an impact on the future conduct of the children because the children will inherit the nanny's cultural characteristics, since, naturally, her ideological and cultural background will be different from that of the Omani parents — often on very important, even central religious matters.

Some of the local researchers (like Kh. A Khalaf, B. O. El-Omar, H. El-Rifai, H. Umran and others (1987))[1] see that nannies will have a multiple effect as they look after children during their early years, a time when the child is normally very obedient and easy to instruct. Since most of the studies were to do with nannies' effects in general and how they affect the children in particular, this study if an attempt to explore the issues in greater depth.

4.3 The research objectives

The detailed objectives addressed in the study design, and covered in the questionnaires (see 4. below), relate to the model proposed in 4.2, and deal with the sociological, psychological, linguistic and cultural effects of nanny-care. They were therefore as follows:

Objective 1: to explore the motivation for the employment of nannies within the family;

Objective 2: to see how these nanies are employed;

Objective 3: to review the religious traditions and ethical assumptions prevalent in the societies to which these nannies belong; to assess the conflicts with those of Oman;

Objective 4: to study the effects of employing nannies on Omani children;

Objective 5: to make recommendations as to the deployment of such nannies.

4.3.1 Objective 1

There appear to be a number of possible (and often overlapping) motives for families to employ a nanny in Oman. First of all, the near-disappearance of the extended family has removed an important source of help in child-rearing — especially for families with a large number of small children. The social changes sweeping over Oman have removed

this resource just at the moment when they have also made it most necessary, i.e. at a time when more and more Omani women are being educated and when many of them, as a result, now have a part-time or even a full-time job.

This seems likely to be the commonest reason for employing a nanny. But it also seems possible that, as in 19th century England, the employment of a nanny might be seen as a mark of social status, as an addition to prestige. All these possibilities are addressed in the questions in **Section 40 of Questionnaire A1** (see appendix). This section is deliberately left open-ended, to allow for the possibility of other motives.

4.3.2 Objective 2: The current deployment of nannies

There seems to be a variety of ways in which nannies might be employed, as well as in the obvious one of child-care. At one end of the scale, they may actually be entrusted with the whole upbringing of the child; at the other, they may simply perform household chores. It seems likely that in many cases they might do both. **Questions 29 and 30 in Questionnaire A1** are designed to elicit this information.

4.3.3 Objective 3: Traditions and ethical heritage of the nannies

It seems probable that the behaviour of nannies in their adopted families depends both on their own religious and ethical background and on the degree of supervision excercised by their employers. Similarly, the language in which they communicate with the children in their care might be expected to vary according to their origins and according to the importance placed by the employer on their using only Arabic. The whole of **Questionnaire B** is designed to establish the background of the nannies, and **Questions 31-39 in Questionnaire A1** should indicate the degree of supervision generally excercised over them.

4.3.4 Objective 4: The effects of the deployment of foreign nannies on Omani children

The most important area to be explored is the effects, whether positive or negative, on the

Omani family of the employment of nannies; and through these effects, on Omani culture. On the one hand, nannies may have a contribution to make where there are numerous children in a family, and where the traditional support of the extended family is lacking. Especially in view of the Omani custom of hospitality, some help with children and household chores is often esssential.

But it seems likely that the negative influences brought to bear by this penetration of an alien culture will outweigh the advantages; and that the socialisation of nanny-reared children will be less successful than that of children reared by their parents. The psychological and social effects are explored through **Questionnaire A2**, and the specific area of language is addressed in **Questions 21-27.**

4.3.5 Objective 5: Recommendations for the proper deployment of nannies in Oman

This will include the provision of State nurseries by qualified nursery personnel trained within the framework of Arabic-Islamic culture and officially licensed (to avoid the present confusion between nanny/housemaid roles). Such training would be supported by a planned expansion of research in child-psychology. To encourage cultural homogeneity, a system of work permits or other immigration controls is proposed, to discourage employment of foreign nannies and give priority to nannies of similar (if not identical) culture and background wherever possible.

Other personnels include the provision of parks and play-areas, together with fiscal and employment measures to enable working mothers to spend more time with their infants in the early years.

The present confusion of discrete and often overlapping initiatives should be replaced by a single umbrella organisation to coordinate all efforts in the field, and a massive State advertising campaign should be mounted to educate the Omani public in the importance of entrusting the vital area of child-care *only* to suitably qualified personnel.

4.4 The study design

To study the phenomenon of nanny-employment in Oman from the psycho-social-cultural perspective required an epidemiologically orientated survey of large numbers of families from all over the Sultanate, rather than a clinically orientated one involving intensive analysis of small samples in specific settings and localities. A survey of 1345 families was therefore undertaken in 1991.

The initial, Omani-wide survey gathered standard information on nanny-employment throughout Oman during 1991, from a total of more than 1,000 families. This broad-based survey was supplemented by more comprehensive case studies of 160 families in a representative sample of all areas and all economic types. Additional data-sources were structured interviews with these families and their children. These investigations were reinforced by extensive reading about all existing local studies in the Gulf, about or related to this field.

4.4.1 The sample

Questionnaires were sent to a large random sample of families to discover the composition of the family, the number of children in the family, whether it employed a nanny, its social and economic status, etc. (see chapter V). This sample represented approximately 0.4% of the total number of families in Oman. From their replies to these questionnaires, 160 families were chosen with a total of 272 children of whom all had at least one child under 6, and of whom 80 employed nannies and 80 did not. This was the main variable. This sample represented 0.05% of the total number of families in Oman. The total number of nannies employed in Oman in 1990 was over 28,000 (see chapter I) of which 80 represents 0.3%. These two groups of 80 families were matched as closely as possible for all other variables (see chapter VIII) including geographical distribution:

Table 4.1 Distribution of the sample family according to districts

District	Nanny group	Non-nanny group
Muscat	25	25
Ruwi	3	3
Al-Watiah	4	4
Mutrah	4	4
Qurme	2	2
Seeb	5	5
Eastern Salalah	5	5
Western Salalah	7	8
Middle Salalah	9	9
Awkad	8	8
Al-Qantara	8	7
Total	80	80

This made a manageable number for the research and the matching should ensure that it is fully representative of the whole of Oman. The additional selection criteria for the group employing nannies were:

(1) that the family should not have more than one nanny;

(2) that the employment period of the nanny should not have been less than one year.

4.4.2 The instrumentation

The detailed study of 160 families (divided into two groups of 80) was carried out by means of a series of questionnaires to be completed as appropriate by both groups. Since the topic has not been previously researched in Oman, a primary source of data had to be established. The combination of questionnaire and structured interview with a carefully chosen sample offered the most appropriate means of achieving this.

4.4.3 The questionnaires

Five questionnaires were constructed, the first (A/1) and the second (C/1) concentrate on (a) the comparability for statistical purposes, and (b) the child-rearing practices, of those who employ nannies, and those who do not: the A1 and C2 family groups. A/1

also deals specifically with the first group's use of, attitudes to and satisfaction with, the nannies. The third, (B), seeks to establish the attitudes and assumptions of the expatriate nannies; and the fourth and fifth (A2 and C2), examine the psychology, behaviour and linguistic development of the children in the first and second groups.

4.4.4 Piloting the questionnaires

All the questionnaires were subjected to thorough testing and where necessary redrafting before being used in the research. They were first compiled after considerable research into local studies in the Gulf on this topic, and with the assistance of studies of pre-school children in Scotland, encountered during an MEd course on pre-school children undertaken in the Department of Education at Glasgow University in 1990. Details of the Gulf studies are given in chapter II.

4.4.5 Administering the Questionnaires

Of the 160 families in the sample, approximately 65% were interviewed personally by the researcher, a further 20% approx. by friends carefully instructed by the researcher, and the remaining 15% or so by officials of the social services in the course of other inquiries. Where the researcher was unable personally to conduct the interviews, meetings were held with all those entrusted with the administration of the questionnaires, to ensure as far as possible a uniform approach.

Where responses to the questionnaires were in any way inadequate, a second and sometimes even third visit was paid by the researcher in person to amplify and/or clarify the data. Before the structured interviews, preliminary meetings were held with most of the sample families in order to prepare the ground and familiarise them with the purposes of the research.

In the course of the interviews, questions were addressed privately to both parents, to the nannies, and to the children in presence of their parents, who sometimes interpreted, and occasionally answered, for the children. The researcher was normally able to judge how far they did this accurately.

4.5 Methodology

The methodology used both quantitative and qualititative techniques to identify trends and relationships. Quantitative approaches will be used primarily to investigate aspects such as socio-economic status, educational levels, behavioural patterns, whereas qualitative techniques will be applied to areas such as attitudes, emotional responses and relationships. The data will be established by means of a group of families who do employ a nanny, and a group of precisely similar families who do not.

4.5.1 Selection of the study design: field experiments

A field experiment was chosen to test the hypothesis, in preference to a non-experimental one. Non-experimental designs do not allow analysis of variables, since *randomization,* a necessary condition of variant analysis, is not possible. It can be argued that randomised subject designs, such as this one, 'do not permit tests of the quality of groups.'[3] However, as Kerlinger points out, 'with enough subjects and randomization, it can be assumed that groups *are* equal';[4] and, as he also points out, it *is possible to check the groups for equality on variables other than 'Y': 'Pertinent data for sociology studies can be found in district records', as was done in this case.*

4.5.2 Control of variables

It is still true that field experiments are less easy to control than laboratory ones. There is always the possibility that 'the independent variables can be contaminated by uncontrolled environmental variables'[5] (such as the skill, or lack of skill, of an interviewer in extracting information from small children, to take an appropriate example.) For this reason, it is essential to control the independent variables as closely as possible. The two systems of control chosen here were therefore *matching* and *randomization.* Matching was carefully done on the basis of variables with a substantial relation to the dependent variable (degrees of nanny child-rearing to nanny-effect, for example.) The matched subjects were then *randomly* assigned to the experimental and control groups to give powerful control of variance.

4.5.3 Advantages of field experiments

Field experiments, although more difficult to control, also have compensatory strengths. To quote Kerlinger once more, 'The variables in a field experiment usually have a stronger effect than those of laboratory experiments . . . The more realistic the research situation, the stronger the variables.'[11] An important feature for this study is his claim that field experiments are appropriate 'for studying complex social and psychological influence and changes, in lifelike situations'[12], appropriate therefore for a psycho-socio-economic investigation such as this. And finally, 'Field experiments are well-suited both to testing hypotheses *and* to finding answers to practical problems'[13], both of which this dissertation attempts.

4.5.4 Design paradigm

The research design adopted corresponds with Kerlinger's 'warhorse of a design' which he numbers 19.2.

$$M(r) \quad \frac{x \qquad y}{x \qquad y} \qquad \begin{matrix}\textbf{(Experiment)} \\ \textbf{(Control)}\end{matrix}$$

'Design 19.1 and its variants', he says, '(is) probably the best design for many experimental purposes in behavioural research.'[14]

4.5.5 Instrumentation

On instrumentation, Kerlinger has this to say about the combination of questionnaire and structured interview, which I have adopted here: 'The best instrument available for sounding people's behaviour, future intentions, feelings, attitudes and reason for behaviour would seem to be the structured interview coupled with an interview schedule (*questionnaire*) that includes open-end, closed and scale items . . . The cost in time, energy and money, and the high degree of skill necessary for its construction, are its main drawbacks. Once these disadvantages are surmounted, the structured interview is a powerful tool'.[15]

4.6 Analysis and conclusions

In subsequent chapters, analysis of the research will be primarily descriptive; however, appropriate statistical tests will be applied to identify all statistically significant variations. The results will be interpreted (a) to discover whether they lend support to the hypothesis, and (b) if they do, to suggest appropriate action.

CHAPTER V: Characteristics of the Families in the Sample.

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Circumstances of the families in the sample

- 5.2.1 Family type
- 5.2.2 Family size
- 5.2.3 Family income
- 5.2.4 No. of wives
- 5.2.5 Family educational level
- 5.2.6 Language of communication with children
- 5.2.7 Family age
- 5.2.8 Family occupation
- 5.2.9 Wives' working hours
- 5.2.10 Family housing

5.3 Child-rearing practices

- 5.3.1 Encouragement in self-expression
- 5.3.2 Consistency of discipline
- 5.3.3 Rewarding good behaviour
- 5.3.4 Punishing bad behaviour
- 5.3.5 Implementation of orders
- 5.3.6 Dealing with children's demands
- 5.3.7 Corporal punishment
- 5.3.8 Sex discrimination
- 5.3.9 Quarrelling in front of the children
- 5.3.10 Rebuking the children in public
- 5.3.11 Making false promises
- 5.3.12 Deliberate misinformation

5.4 Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

In Oman, rapid social changes in recent times have drawn attention to the problems of the contemporary family; particularly to the problems of poverty and suffering which have become increasingly apparent. As Bell has pointed out (Bell and Vogel: *A Modern Introduction to the Family 1960*), all over the western world in the early part of the twentieth century, problems affecting the family, such as divorce and separation, were increasing; the birth rate was declining, women were spending more time outside the home, and the 'individualisation' of family members was proceeding to a point where the continued existence of the family was seriously in doubt. Shorter (1976) with the arrival of 'modernisation' (see chapter 1), these trends have begun to affect the Gulf States, including Oman, as the following figures make clear.

Table 5.1 Social Security Groups in Oman 1988-89

1988		1989	
Categories	No. of cases	Categories	No. of cases
Divorcees	2359	Divorcees	2388
Over 60's	2048	Over 60's	2280
Widows	1444	Widows	1602
Orphans	617	Orphans	751
Unmarried females	192	Unmarried females	249
Deserted wives	122	Deserted wives	138
Families of prisoners	44	Families of prisoners	67

In these years, though there is an increase in the numbers in all categories, it is on a moderate scale. But the figures in the table which follows, for 1980-1991, *which are for South Oman only*, show a moderate increase in the numbers of divorced and unmarried women.

Table 5.2 Social Security Groups in *South Oman* 1989-91

	1989	1990	1991
Categories	No. of cases	No. of cases	No. of cases
Divorces	2426	2556	2651
Over 60's	2311	2346	2348
Widows	1195	1162	1153
Orphans	752	730	577
Unmarried females	259	271	302
Deserted wives	123	124	123
Families of prisoners	43	43	32

It will be noted that in Oman in 1990, the number of divorces *in the South Region alone,* was greater than that in the whole of Oman for 1988, and that the number of unmarried females in 1991, again in the South Region alone, was more than 50% higher than that in the whole of the country only 3 years previously. A similar situation has been observed in the West: for example, the 'Review of the Registrar General on Marriage and Divorces in England 1989' (p.8) shows that 'in England and Wales, the marriage rate for both men and women declined between 1981 and 1989, from 56 to 45 per thousand unmarried men, and from 45 to 38 per thousand unmarried women. The marriage rates for bachelors and spinsters — and for divorced and widowed men and women — all declined between 1981 and 1989. The remarriage rate for divorced men and women fell particularly sharply; from 130 to 77 per thousand divorced men, and from 91 to 60 per thousand divorced women. Undoubtedly the rise in the rates of cohabition — which has been particularly marked for the divorced — has depressed all the marriage rates, and especially those for the divorced. The composition by marital status of the overall population has changed steadily since 1981; the divorced, and, to a lesser extent, the single, have formed growing proportions, whilst the widowed and the married have formed slowly diminishing proportions of the total population.

Clearly, the institution of marriage is under threat. A great many different factors, social and economic, are responsible for putting the existence of the family under pressure. Some kinds of family are more vulnerable than others to different types of pressure.

The kind of pressure with which this research is concerned is that of extraneous influences (such as foreign nannies); and the type of family most vulnerable to this kind of pressure is the nuclear one. (As Table 5.3 shows, most of the families in the sample were of this type).

For the purposes of this dissertation, however, it is the family which is the focus of research; and it is the current circumstances of the Omani families in the study sample, together with the factors which may have influenced them in hiring or not hiring nannies for their children, which were addressed by Questionnaire A/1.

5.2 Circumstances of the families in the sample.

The two groups of families in the sample were compared on a wide range of characteristics, such as family type, size, income, education, housing, etc., particularly with a view to discovering which, if any, of these characteristics correlated with the employment of nannies.

5.2.1 Family type

Nuclear families constituted the majority of both groups, with a slightly larger percentage in the nanny-employing group. The difference is not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 2.39$). Family type therefore does not seem to be a significant factor in the decision to employ a nanny.

Table 5.3 Household type

Family type	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
Nuclear	84	74
Extended	16	26

* Footnote: All Chi-squared values are provided in Appendix.

5.2.2 Family size

Family size in itself lessens the amount of attention available to each child in the family, and this effect can be greatly increased if the family income is low. It seemed useful therefore to discover what effect family size and family income might have on nanny-employment.

The study shows that the average size of both the nanny-employing and non-nanny-employing families is approximately 7 persons; though the *most frequently occuring* number is 5-6 persons — 33% of the nanny-employing group, and 39% of the non-nanny-employing group. There is no significant difference between the groups ($\chi^2 = 3.98$).; so one may conclude that a family size is not a significant factor in the decision to employ a nanny.

Table 5.4 Family size

No. in family	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
3-4	29	20
5-6	32	39
7-8	12	17
9-10	18	11
11+	9	13

5.2.3 Family income

The financial conditions of a family have considerable impact on shaping its entire life, including among other things the relationship between the various members of the household, their lifestyles and the self-confidence of the children in the family.

In the study sample, the average monthly income for the nanny-employing families and the non-nanny-employing families was 1587 and 1203 Omani Rials respectively. The difference is not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 2.86$).; it can be concluded therefore that family income is not a significant factor in the decision to employ a nanny.

Table 5.5 Family income

Family income (Omani Rials)	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
200-399	5	2
400-599	5	16
600-799	20	16
800-999	20	19
1000-1199	11	9
1200-1399	10	10
1400-1599	7	6
1600-1799	5	8
1800+	17	14

5.2.4 Number of wives

The normally permitted number of wives married to one man is four. However, more than 90% of husbands in both nanny-employing and the non-nanny-employing families had only one wife. There was no significant difference between the groups. Only 7 men among the nanny-employing families had two wives, and only 5 among the non-nanny-employing families; and most of these spent most of their time with wife no.1. It can be concluded therefore that the number of wives, or the way that time is divided among them, is not a significant factor ($\chi^2 = 2.86$) in the decision to employ a nanny.

Table 5.6 Division of time among wives (actual nos.)

Division of time	Nanny group	Non-nanny group
More time with first wife	4	5
Time equally divided	2	0
More time with second wife	1	0

5.2.5 Educational level

The family is the first educational institution in every society. Its functions are numerous; it teaches children on all levels: hygienic, psychological, emotional, intellectual, social and moral. The parent's level of education is generally considered one of the main factors determining the kind of up-bringing the children receive and shaping their manners, habits and standards.

The parents in the study sample had for the most part a fairly adequate standard of education. 56% of the husbands in the nanny-employing families and 48% in the non-nanny-employing families had reached secondary school or college level; and among the wives the percentages were 49% and 48% respectively. The percentage of illiterate husbands in the two groups was the same — 2.5%. But among the housewives, illiteracy was much more common; 21% in both groups. Those in between, either barely literate or primary-school educated only, occured almost equally in both groups: about 30% of the men, and 20% of the women. The difference between the groups was not

statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 2.2$ for the man, and 6.05 for the women). Educational levels therefore does not seem to be a significant factor in the decision to employ a nanny.

Table 5.7 Educational level

Education level	Householders		Housewives	
	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
Illiterate	4	3	21	21
Literate	20	19	10	6
Primary	15	17	15	18
Preparatory	6	12	6	17
Secondary	34	29	30	24
University	21	20	18	14

5.2.6 Language of communication between parents and children

The importance of language in the socialisation of children has been stressed in chapter 3 of this study, and it is an area which is particularly sensitive to the influence of foreign nannies. But language is already a senstive area for many Omani children for other reasons. Oman is home to many ex-immigrant Omani nationals who have returned to their homeland from exile in a variety of foreign lands, many from Africa, and even more from Baluchistan. The majority of these have imported the languages of their places of exile. In addition, many Omanis from remote rural or mountain areas have Arabic only as their second language, much as some people from Wales or the Scottish highlands have English as theirs. Thus a colloquial form of Arabic is the 'lingus franca' of Oman. Obviously therefore, colloquial Arabic contains many non-Arab notions and expressions which are likely to increase as a result of the growing influence of non-Arab cultures. Such ideas are already subconsciously implanted in the minds of Omani Arab children, and the daily use of non-Arab languages can only increase this effect. This is not to say that it is intrisically a bad thing to introduce ideas from beyond the national boundaries; some might describe it as a form of enlightenment, or at least a widening of intellectual horizons. But introduced in this subliminal and haphazard way, such ideas

tend in practice simply to loosen and undermine *any* moral or traditional framework to life, without necessarily substituting either an emotional or a rational alternative.

The study shows that more than half the families in both groups use Arabic to communicate with their children. But many more of the non-nanny-employing group do so than of the nanny-employing one. The difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 4.25$). It does seem therefore that there could be an association between the language used by parents to children and the employment of nannies.

Table 5.8 Language of communication between parents and children

Language	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
Arabic	57	71
Non-Arabic	43	29

5.2.7 Family age

While there was a tendency for the non-nanny-employing families to be younger than the nanny-employing ones, the difference, whether between the husbands or the wives in the two groups, was not statistically significant.

Table 5.9 Family age (husbands and wives)

Age in years	Householders		Housewives	
	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
17-24	0	10	16	32
25-29	17	26	41	40
30-34	28	24	26	15
35-39	24	20	10	8
40-44	13	9	3	4
45-49	7	6	4	1
50-54	2	4	0	0
55-59	5	1	0	0
60-69	4	0	0	0

5.2.8 (i) Family occupation (husbands and wives)

Parents' occupation is frequently an indication of social group, and hence of the moral and social assumptions that are characteristics of such groupings. It was thought

appropriate therefore to compare the two sets of families, both husbands and wives, on the basis of their occupations. No clear pattern emerged in comparing the occupations of the males. Fewer husbands in the non-nanny-employing families were in academic or technical employment than in the nanny-employing group; on the other hand, fewer worked in the service or retail sectors. More of the non-nanny-employing husbands were managers or executives, and more clerical work or the civil service. Top managers were only 1% in either group. There is a faint bias towards traditionally middle-class occupations among the non-nanny-employing families, but overall, just as with incomes, husbands' occupation seems to have little bearing on the decision to employ a nanny.

When one looks at the occupations of the wives, however, the picture is rather different. Just over half of the wives in each group had paid employment. Of these, a quite noticeably larger proportion of wives in the non-nanny-employing families than in the nanny-employing group (49% as against 30%) worked in academic or technical jobs, and almost as many in civil service or clerical ones. 10% were business executives. Altogether 100% of these wives in the non-nanny-employing families worked in these fields, as against 82% of the nanny-employing group, 18% of whom worked in factories or in domestic service ($\chi^2 = 10.35$). It seems possible therefore that the work-status of the wives may have had some influence on the employment or otherwise of a nanny.

Table 5.10 Family occupation (husbands and wives)

Profession	Householders		Housewives	
	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
Academic/ technical	15	11	30	49
Top executive/ managerial	1	1	0	0
Executive/ managerial	21	30	5	10
Clerical/ civil-service	24	34	47	41
Retail/sales	23	10	0	0
Service	16	14	2	0
Production	0	0	16	0

5.2.8 (ii) Family occupation (husbands and wives) according to work sector.

The majority of the sample, in both groups, both men and women, worked in government service. In the private sector, the numbers of both husbands and wives in the nanny-employing families were greater than in non-nanny-employing families — significantly so in the case of the wives ($\chi^2 = 7.99$). It seems therefore that parents, particularly wives, who work in the private sector may be more inclined to employ nannies than their counterparts in the other group; perhaps because the nature of the work in this sector requires more working hours outside the home than does civil service employment.

Table 5.11 Occupation according to work sector

Sector	Householders		Housewives	
	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
Public	61	72	77	98
Private	39	28	23	2

5.2.9 Work hours for working wives

Just over half of the wives in each of the family groups had a job. By far the majority worked part-time in the mornings only. Only 7 wives, all in the nanny-employing families, worked full-time; and a small number of others, from both groups, worked evenings or shifts. Hours of work do not seem to have an obvious correlation with the decision to employ a nanny.

Table 5.12 Wives' working hours

Working hours	Nanny group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
Mornings only	83	83
Evenings only	5	10
Full-time	7	0
Shifts	5	7

5.2.10 Family housing

Housing conditions can often be an index to other aspects of a family's life. The study therefore looked in some detail at the circumstances of the families' housing.

(i) Home ownership

Over 70% of both family groups were owner-occupiers. The remainder lived in rented accommodation or in accommodation provided by their employeers. There was no significant difference between the groups in this respect ($\chi^2 = 2.42$); so it may be concluded that home ownership does not seem to be a significant factor in the employment of nannies.

(ii) Sharing accommodation

Only 2 families in the entire sample shared accommodation; a further 2 did not answer the question. The sharing or otherwise of accommodation therefore does not seem to be a significant factor in the employment of nannies ($\chi^2 = 2.03$).

(iii) Type of accommodation

Most families in both groups lived either in a detached house or villa; the nanny-employing families were even more likely to chose this type of accommodation than the non-nanny-employing ones. Almost twice as many of the non-nanny-employing as the nanny-employing families lived in flats. 2.5% of both groups lived in subsidised accommodation. Again, although the non-nanny-employing families seemed to live a little more modestly than the others, it may be concluded that the type of property occupied by the families does not seem to be a significant factor in the employment of nannies ($\chi^2 = 4.86$).

Overall, these 3 aspects of family housing show no significant difference between the two groups (χ^2=9.31).

Table 5.13 Family housing

Nature of accommodation	Category	Nanny Group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
Type of tenure	owned	71	70
	rented	14	19
	provided by employer	15	10
	non-specified	0	1
Exclusivity	self-contained	96	99
	shared	2	0
	non-specified	0	1
Type of property	detached dwelling	83	74
	flat	14	24
	subsidised	2	2
	non-specified	1	0

(iv) Number and allocation of rooms

The number of rooms in a family dwelling can make a great difference to the quality of life in that family. The number of rooms could also influence the decision to employ a nanny, in that families with large houses might be predisposed to emphasise their social pretensions in this way.

Table 5.14 No. of rooms in family dwellings

Rooms	Numbers (%)	Nanny group group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
No. of rooms	1-3	15	24
	4-6	61	57
	7-9	23	13
	10-15	1	6

The number of bedrooms in particular can be an index to the potential for individual development within the family, especially for children. In particular, the number of bedrooms allocated to the children can be an indication of the degree of priority afforded them.

No significant difference emerged between the two family groups in these respects.

Table 5.15 Family bedrooms and how they are allocated

Bedrooms	Numbers (%)	Nanny group group (%)	Non-nanny group (%)
No. of bedrooms	1-2	31	44
	3-4	62	46
	5-6	6	9
	7-8	1	0
	9-10	0	1
No.of children's bedrooms	none	4	5
	1	63	67
	2	30	20
	3	3	5
	4	0	3
	non-specified	1	

5.3 Child-rearing practices

The importance of childhood as the groundbase of socialisation has been fully discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation. As the English poet Wordsworth has so memorably said, "The child is father of the man"; but the child is dependent on his millieu for successful integration into his society, and he imbibes the culture of that society with his mother's milk. This means that early influences make a deep impression.

Child-rearing practices among the parents in the two groups were investigated under the following headings: encouragement, consistency or inconsistency of discipline, reward/punishment, consistency in implementing orders, attitudes to children's demands, corporal punishment, discrimination between the sexes, quarrelling in front of children, rebuking them in public, failing to carry out promises, deliberately misinforming them. Poor practice in any of these areas can adversely affect a child's development.

5.3.1 Encouragement in self-expression

There was a slight balance in favour of the non-nanny-employing group here; 76% gave their children positive encouragement, as against 66% of the nanny-employing group. At the level of *'some'* encouragement, the positions were reversed, with 27% of the

nanny group giving this level of encouragement as against 19% for the other. Few in either group gave none. All told, there was little difference between the groups in this area.

Table 5.16 Encouragement in self-expression

Group	Encouragement (%)	Some (%)	None (%)
Nanny	66	27	7
Non-nanny	76	19	5

5.3.2 Consistency of discipline

The percentage of parents who were consistent in their orders to their children was slightly higher in the nanny-employing group than in the non-nanny-employing group, though the difference was not significant ($\chi^2 = 3.12$ NS).

Table 5.17 Consistency of discipline

Group	Consistent (%)	To some extent (%)	Inconsistent (%)
Nanny	76	20	4
Non-nanny	67	24	9

5.3.3 Rewarding good behaviour

Again, the bias was in favour of the nanny-employing group, though again there was no significant difference between the groups. It certainly does not seem to be the case however that the non-nanny-employing group were less positive in their attitude to their children. The value of ($\chi^2 = 2.28$).

Table 5.18 Rewarding good behaviour

Group	Rewards (%)	To some extent (%)	No rewards (%)	Non-specified (%)
Nanny	85	10	5	0
Non-nanny	76	14	7	3

5.3.4 Punishing bad behaviour

Here there was a distinct difference of approach between the groups. The non-nanny-employing group was noticeably stricter in punishing their children than the nanny-employing group. Nearly half of the nanny-employing group seldom or *never* punished their children, as against almost all the non-nanny-employing group who always or frequently did.

Table 5.19 Punishing bad behaviour

Group	Punishment (%)	To some extent (%)	No punishment (%)	Non-specified (%)
Nanny	52	26	22	0
Non-nanny	71	22	6	1

5.3.5 Implementation of orders

Responses here were almost identical for the two groups; about 40% of both were consistent in following up their orders to their children, a further 40% *sometimes* did so, and around 20% had given up the struggle!

Table 5.20 Implementation of orders

Group	Consistent (%)	To some extent (%)	Inconsistent (%)
Nanny	40	39	21
Non-nanny	41	40	19

5.3.6 Firmness in dealing with children's demands

Not much firmness in this respect was shown by either group, but what there was, was evidence by the non-nanny-employing group, 8% of whom were prepared to take a stand, as against only 1% of the others. Apart from these few, there was little difference in the attitudes of the rest.

Table 5.21 Dealing with children's demands

Group	Refusal (%)	To some extent (%)	Acquiescence (%)
Nanny	1	35	64
Non-nanny	8	25	67

5.3.7 Corporal Punishment

The non-nanny-employing group showed a marked tendency to greater severity with their children than the nanny-employing group. More than half of the first group regularly physically punished their children, and only a quarter never did; whereas 43% of the nanny-employing group *never* did, and only 28% did so regularly. These figures can be interpreted in different ways: it could be that the non-nanny-employing group were more concerned about their children's behaviour than the other group, or it could be that they were simply more autocratic. It seems however from the profile of the nannies emergent from the earlier chapters that their generally laxer standards of behaviour may have been shared by those families who employed them.

Table 5.22 Corporal punishment

Group	Regular punishment (%)	Sometimes (%)	Never (%)
Nanny	27	30	43
Non-nanny	56	19	25

5.3.8 Discrimination in treatment between boys and girls

Here too there was a marked difference between the groups. While only 6% of the non-nanny-employing group admitted to *regular* discrimination in their treatment of sons and daughters, 42% altogether practised *some* discrimination, as opposed to only 2% of the nanny-employing group. This may suggest that the non-nanny-employing families were more generally fundamentalist in their approach to this topic than the nanny-employing group.

Table 5.23 Sex discrimination

Group	Discriminated (%)	To some extent (%)	Not at all (%)
Nanny	1	1	98
Non-nanny	6	38	56

5.3.9 Quarrelling in front of the children

The nanny-employing group was very slightly more inclined to do this than the other, although neither did to any great extent — or at any rate admitted to doing so.

Table 5.24 Quarrelling in front of the children

Group	Quarrelled (%)	To some extent (%)	Not at all (%)
Nanny	1	15	84
Non-nanny	0	2	98

5.3.10 Rebuking the children in public

There was virtually no difference between the groups on this aspect of behaviour; neither was inclined to do this to any great extent.

Table 5.25 Rebuking the children in public

Group	Rebuked (%)	To some extent (%)	Never (%)
Nanny	5	19	76
Non-nanny	1	15	84

5.3.11 Making false promises

Again there was no difference, and again neither group admitted to this practice on any scale. Oddly, 2% of the nanny-employing group professed not to know!

Table 5.26 Making false promises

Group	Yes (%)	To some extent (%)	No (%)	Non-specified (%)
Nanny	2	18	78	2
Non-nanny	2	15	83	0

5.3.12 Deliberate misinformation

Responses here were identical; neither group pleaded guilty to this, although again, 3% of the nanny-employing group claimed not to know. On the other hand, the 11% of both groups who admitted doing it 'to some extent' may indicate that the practice is more widespread than at first appears.

Table 5.27 Deliberate misinformation

Group	Yes (%)	To some extent (%)	No (%)	Non-specified (%)
Nanny	1	11	85	3
Non-nanny	1	11	88	0

5.4 Conclusions

There is very little in the external circumstances of the families in the sample to account for the distinction between them in employing or not employing a nanny; and in fact the results in chapter 8 (8.2.2) will make it fairly clear that for many families the decision is a fairly close-run thing. The one really significant variable is that of language — the language used by the parents in talking to their children. Those parents who use Arabic for this purpose are noticeably less likely to entrust their children to a nanny (Table 5.8). (The only other slightly significant variables both concern the mothers' employment status; mothers in the non-nanny-employing families tend to have a more professional status than their opposite numbers, and may therefore *just possibly* be more concerned about their children's up-bringing; and mothers in the nanny-employing group are more likely to be employed in the private sector, and may therfore *just possibly* work longer hours and have more need of child-minders. But the numbers involved are really too

small, especially in this last area, to make these significant factors). Then the language variable is taken together with the only significant variables in child-rearing practice between the groups, a possible influence on the decision as to nanny-employment begins to emerge. Again there is little difference between the groups in their ways of bringing up their children. But in two areas only — discipline, and treatment of sons versus daughters — the non-nanny-employing families are more traditional, or perhaps more fundamentalist, than the nanny-employing group. It seems just possible that faithfulness to Islamic tradition may account for the decision at least to some extent.

CHAPTER VI: Nannies and their background

6.1 Introduction

Nannies, their nature and influence, are a matter of considerable interest to Arabic sociologists in the Gulf States, where the employment of nannies is a widespread phenomenon. The nanny *per se* has not figured largely as a subject for sociological research in Western academic circles, presumably because in the West she is no longer a power in the land. Child-carers, though not specifically nannies, have come in for a fair amount of attention since Bowlby's seminal work, from researchers anxious to modify his insistence on the primacy of the mother in the socialisation process. Since then, as we have seen in chapter 3 (3.6), many researchers in the field have established that it is the bonding process itself, rather than the identity of the 'significant other' (David Rafky's phrase in 'Phenomology and Socialisation', note 15) that is important. Scarr and Dunn in their otherwise frankly prolemic report on 'Mothercare/Othercare' (1987), do offer (on p.24), despite their obvious bias in favour of working mothers, a sensible critique of extravagant theories which over-emphasise the indispensability of mothers; and Rudolph Schaffer in much of his work emphasises this same point. The important aspect of nanny-care is not that it is or may be a replacement for mother-care, but that, depending on the nanny, it may be an inadequate or even a malign replacement. Nannies in Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy's 'Rise and Fall of the British Nanny' (1985) were usually a good or an even superior replacement for mothers who by the nature of their often exalted social position, or for other more selfish reasons, had little time for their offspring. But nannies in Britain during the period of his study were a race apart — the 'Nanny Block', as he so frequently describes them (Ibid. p.76); 'those thousands, hundreds of thousands, of devoted, caring, selfless, single women' (Ibid. p.329) who were almost (only *almost*; he doesn't unduly sentimentalise them) invariably kind, and who influenced the adult personalities, according to Gathorne-Hardy, of so many great men. They were a race apart not only because of their selfless devotion, but also because, although they were predominently working-class, '*Nannies nearly always identified completely with the mores and values of the class they served*' (Ibid. p.72). These two conditions, kindness, and adoption of the social and cultural values of their

employers, are the essentials for successful nanny socialisation such as the above writer so entertainingly and often touchingly describes.

But the social and economic circumstances of Victorian and Edwardian Britain were very different from those of present-day Oman. Probably the only aspects of Gathorne-Hardy's nannies that are relevant to the present case are first of all their lasting effects on the personalities of their charges, for good or bad — Winston Churchill and Compton Mackenzie are examples of each — and secondly, the powerful moral influence they wielded — again for good or bad. Gathorne-Hardy ascribes the moral strength — and the sexual inhibitions — of a whole generation of upper-class Englishmen and women to the 'very strong moral code' instilled by English nannies, (Ibid. p.258) which 'underpinned the British Empire', as he claims on the same page. The other side of the coin was the 'inhibition, conventionality and conformity, too rigid social taboos which made many people's lives during (the) period much less free, spontaneous and happy than they could have been' (Ibid. pp.261-2). The book demonstrates very powerfully the enormous potential for good or evil that lies within the Nanny's grasp.

6.2 The background details of nannies

Questionnaire B (see Appendix 4) was designed to elicit information under three heads: the nanny's own personal circumstances; her methods of bringing up her own children (where applicable); and the principles and practices prevalent in her own society, especially in regard to child-rearing, marriage and the organisation of the family, as well as the degree of general social interaction.

6.2.1 Nationality

Nannies come from six foreign countries to work with Omani families with the Indian continent supplying most of them (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Countries of origin

Country	% (app.)
India	46
Sri Lanka	39
Pakistan	6
Philippines	6
Tanzania	1
Bangladesh	1

6.2.2 Religion

From such diverse countries of origin it is not surprising that nannies are of differing religions.

Table 6.2 Nannies' religion

Religion	% (app.)
Christian	59
Muslim	34
Buddhist	5
Hindu	2

What *is* surprising, and for a Muslim country disquieting, is that only a third of these nannies, entrusted to a large extent, (as we shall see in chapter X), with the early education of Omani children, are Muslims.

6.2.3 Age of employment

So far, (as Table 6.6 shows), the great majority of nannies at work in Oman are aged between 25 and 50; but this is not at all typical of conditions in their countries of origin. Half the nannies agreed that there, boys were allowed to work at under eighteen years of age, many under fifteen and some (2½%) even under twelve. For girls, the figures were a little better, but not much: more than a third of the sample came from countries where girls of under eighteen were permitted to work, and 9% were accustomed to see girls begin work at twelve. However, it appeared that nowhere were girls under twelve legally employable.

Table 6.3 Minumum age of employment in countries of origin

Minimum age of employment	Males (%)	Females (%)
<12	3	—
12>	10	9
15>	38	26
18>	31	40
21>	16	19
Don't know	2	6

6.2.4 Length of service

The period of nannies' employment in Oman has coincided with that of their employment with the nanny-employing families in Oman; so no single one of them has ever experienced working anywhere else, or with any other family.

Table 6.4 Years of service

Years of service	% (app.)
<1	10
1	32
2	31
3	10
4	5
5	4
6	4
7	4

Most nannies have spent a relatively short period of service in a given family, either one or two years, as shown in Table 6.4.

6.2.5 Economic status

The vast majority of nannies are considered both by themselves (69%) and by their employers (74%) to be both nannies and servants. 9% of employers regard their nannies simply as housemaids — and 9% of nannies think so too. Fewer than a quarter of nannies (23%) regard themselves as professionals, and even fewer of their employers (18%) treat them as such. Clearly the job is not highly rated — and the level of salaries bears this out. The average monthly salary for nannies in this sample was about 60.5 Omani Rial — about £80 sterling. For those who saw themselves simply as housemaids,

this drops to an average of 53 Omani Rial (about £70 sterling), or in some cases even less. A few of those treated as professionals received between 80 and 90 Rial, but the average even for this category was only 63 OR. The intermediate category of nanny-cum-servant averaged 60 OR — not much less than the specialists. The categories in Table 6.5 are those which the nannies assigned to themselves.

Table 6.5 Nannies' salaries

Status/Salary (OR) (% app.)	<50	50>	60>	70>	80-90	Total
Nanny	4	7½	2½	6	2½	22½
Housemaid	2½	5	1	—	—	8½
Both	8½	29	20	7½	4	69
Total	15	41½	23½	13½	6½	100

6.2.6 Education

20% of all nannies are illiterate. 24% have only the most rudimentary grasp of basic reading and writing. A further 24% have only a primary school education. In other words, more than two-thirds of those to whom an ever-growing proportion of Omani families entrust the formative years of their children are poorly educated or worse. It does not follow of course that the 29% who have at least *some* secondary education (or even the 4% who have university of college degrees) are all good nannies — but at least they have *one* of the basic qualifications for the job.

Table 6.6 Nannies' education

Education Age (% app.)	15-20	20>	25>	30>	35>	40>	45>	50>	55-60	Total (%)
Illiterate	—	—	—	1	10	5	3	—	1	20
Basic R&W	—	3	1	3	9	6	1	1	—	24
Primary*	—	5	7½	2½	4	4	1	—	—	24
Preparatory**	1	1	4	3	3	1	1	—	—	14
Secondary***	—	—	4	2½	2½	2½	2½	—	1	15
HD (College)	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
University	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2
Total (%)	1	9	17½	11	27½	19	12½	—	2½	100

(* = 5-12; ** = 12-15; *** = 15-18)

A glance at Table 6.6 will show that the highest percentage of illiteracy, and the highest percentage of barest literacy, both appear in the age-group 35-40, which is also the

age-group in which by far the largest percentage of nannies occurs.

6.2.7 Knowledge of Arabic

A quarter of all the nannies cannot speak a word of Arabic. A further 50% (if one includes the 1.2% who didn't answer the question) have only a smattering of the language. Only 25% speak it passably, of whom just over a quarter speak it well. But the situation is even worse than these figures suggest, for as the answers to questions 9 and 10 in Questionnaire B make clear, only just over a third of the nannies actually *use* Arabic with their charges, and even they for the most part speak it only brokenly and only some of the time. The remaining 60-70% employ a variety of languages, of which English is by far the most common. To parents, the nannies were even less confident in using Arabic — only 30% did so; and even in English only 30% used it with parents, as against nearly 50% who used it, however imperfectly, with the children. 70% spoke their native language in their own family environment. Meaningful discussion with parents about their children's regime must, one feels, be fraught with difficulty.

When it comes to reading Arabic, and even more so writing it, the position worsens dramatically. None of the nannies could read or write Arabic fluently. Only 2.5% could read it to an average standard, and even fewer (1.2%) write it. Even at the lowest possible level of achievement the figures are no better. What little information nannies do have, they cannot impart to the children.

Table 6.7 Nannies' knowledge of Arabic

Arabic (% app.)	None	Weak	Average	Good	Not specified
Reading	95	2.5	2.5	—	—
Writing	96	2.5	1.5	—	—
Conversation	25	49	19	6	1

6.2.8 Marital status, no. of children, and their residency in Oman

More than 80% of the sample were or had been married, though 23½% were either widowed, separated or divorced. Of the 59% who had current husbands, none had husbands in Oman. The average number of children per nanny (3.3) was about the same as that of the sample families, but the overwhelming majority of these had not

accompanied their mothers to Oman. These figures can either be interpreted as a lack of commitment on the nannies' part to their adopted country, or as a reflection of the extreme poverty in the home country, or possibly both.

Table 6.8 Nannies' marital status, no. of children and their residency in Oman

No. of children > Residence > (%)	None	1-2 In	1-2 Out	3-4 In	3-4 Out	5-6 In	5-6 Out	7+ In	7+ Out	Total
Marital status (%)										
Single	17.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17.5
Married	9	—	16	—	24	—	9	—	1	59
Divorced	1	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Widowed	2.5	2.5	4	—	5	—	2.5	—	1	17.5
Separated	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Total	30	2.5	24	—	30	—	11.5	—	2	100

6.2.9 No. of relatives in Oman

Another indication, if only a slight one, of a probable lack of commitment to Oman and Omani culture is the absence of any Omani family ties whatsoever on the part of 70% of the nanny sample. Of the remaining 30%, only 9% have more than one relative in Oman.

Table 6.9 Nannies' relatives in Oman

Relatives	None	Mother	Brother	Sister	Cousin	Nephew/ Niece	Uncle/ Aunt	Brother-in-law	More than one
(%)	70	1+	5	1+	5	3	1+	5	9

From the figures it would appear that having a brother or brother-in-law or possibly a cousin working in the country is the commonest reason for a non-Omani woman to seek employment as a nanny in Oman. But this also suggests that the availablity of *protection*, rather than Omani sympathies, is what motivates her choice.

6.2.10 Husband's occupation

It seemed possible that there might be a correlation between the level of education of the nannies and their husband's occupation. The figures certainly suggest that such a correlation does in fact exist. By far the largest proportion of the nannies' husbands were factory workers, followed some distance behind by salesmen and servants. 11%

were clerks, which implies at least some degree of literacy, 4% were agricultural workers, and another 4% were technicians — the nearest approach to the professional level. A further 10% were unemployed.

Table 6.10 Husband's occupation

Occupation	(%)
Technician	4
Clerk	11
Salesman	13
Servant	13
Agricultural Labourer	4
Factory Employee	36
Unemployed	9
Not specified	10

None of the husbands was employed at managerial level, thus adding weight to the view that poverty was an important consideration in the decision to become a nanny in Oman.

6.2.11 Home leave

Severe restrictions are placed on the nannies' freedom to visit their home countries. The majority (75%) are allowed a home visit only once every two years, and between 2% and 3% only once in three. The remainder may have home leave after one year. Given that most nannies had children of their own who remained in the home country, this restriction seems particularly harsh.

6.2.12 Socio-economic background

It was decided on general principles to establish whether the nannies came from urban or rural backgrounds, and what the prevailing economic activities of these areas were. No real conclusions emerged from the answers to these questions; about half the nannies came from rural and largely agricultural and fishing economies; the other half from towns or capital cities where trade and industry or domestic service were the principal employers.

Table 6.11 Nannies' background

Economic activity > Urban/Rural (%)	Fishing	Agriculture	Industry	Trade	Service-Industries	Total
Village	2½	42½	1	—	—	46
Town	2	—	10	11	4	27
Capital	—	4	9	14	—	27
Total	4½	46½	20	25	4	100

6.3 Patterns of behaviour in the nannies' families

Clearly, the nannies' ways of bringing up their own families may be expected to influence their treatment of the Omani children in their charge. A detailed questionnaire was therefore prepared covering a wide range of aspects of child-rearing.

6.3.1 Religious observance

On the whole, the nannies claimed at least that they both maintained their religious beliefs and practised their religious observances as a family. When it came to prohibitions regarding food and drink however, a much laxer approach was the norm. Over two thirds operated no restrictions of any kind regarding food, and as many as 61% did not discourage alcohol. Obviously, these are important prohibitions in an orthodox Muslim household, and much would depend on the degree of supervision by the employer or the conscientiousness of the individual nanny as to the children's diet.

Table 6.12 Nannies' family attitudes to religious observance

Family attitude (%)	Yes	No
Religious observance	90	10
Communal practice	85	15
Food restrictions	32½	67½
Prohibition of alcohol	39	61

6.3.2 Child socialisation

The Questionnaire covered two broad areas of child-rearing: matters of practical routine, such as meal-times, bed-time etc.; and questions of principle, such as respect for authority, reward and punishment, freedom of speech, and stimulation of the imagination.

A. Practical family management in the home country

More than a third of the nannies did not have a regular routine of mealtimes or early bedtimes for their children — not a good recommendation for a professional child-minder, (although most seemed to manage a family breakfast). Similarly, while nearly two thirds sent their children to school before the compulsory age, (6), more than a third did not. Four-fifths of nannies encouraged their children to play with others, though fewer than half were careful to see that they played with children of their own age; it seemed not impossible that younger children playing unsupervised with, or among, much older ones might pick up some bad habits. It was also notable that the majority of nannies were prepared to allow their children to live with relations; a fact which might on the one hand suggest a lack of concern for their offspring, or on the other, simply reflect economic neccessity.

Table 6.13 Nannies' practical routine

Family practices (%)	Yes	No	Not known
Family breakfast	93	6	1
Regular mealtimes	61	39	—
Early bedtime	61	39	—
School before 6	61	38	1
Playing with others	83	16	1
Playing with peers	47	36	3
Farming out children	79	21	—

B. Family principles of socialisation

On the whole, most of the nannies' families seemed to operate on reasonably liberal principles. More than 80% rewarded their children for good behaviour, and not much more than half used corporal punishment for the opposite. Most nannies encouraged their children in the learning process, and two thirds would not scold or criticise their children in front of other people. Most children (94%) were brought up to respect their parents and elders, and to ask their parents' permission before, for example, going out to play. Similarly, virtually all nannies were agreed on teaching children the elementary social graces for public occasions. Three-quarters of the families claimed to encourage their children to express their views freely. On the other hand, nearly 40% of their

children would not complain about unjust treatment by their parents, which does imply some degree of oppression; and 55% of nannies believed in scaring their children into submission through fear of darkness, or monsters, or other bogeymen. This conflict of evidence perhaps suggests that some nannies painted an unduly rosy picture of their own child-rearing practice. So it is difficult to know what to make of the evidence that 70% stimulate their children's imaginations (and pass on their cultural heritage) by telling them stories at bedtime or in idle moments.

Table 6.14 Nannies' family discipline

Family discipline (%)	Yes	No	Not known
Reward for good behaviour	83	17	—
Corporal punishment	53	47	—
Encouragement	96	4	—
Public scolding	39	61	—
Respect for elders	94	5	1
Seeking permission	78	22	—
Social etiquette	99	1	—
Free expression	74	26	—
Complaint at maltreatment	59	39	2
Discipline through fear	55	45	—
Bedtime stories	69	30	1

6.4 Cultural values of the nannies' societies

Cultural values affect collective behaviour, and it is reasonable to expect that nanies are no exception to this rule. Such values vary in nature, in scale, and in order of importance, from one society to another and within those societies, from one social level to another. In scale they may vary from the general to the particular, from the nature of God to the prohibition of shellfish. This investigation looked at a number of cultural assumptions in the nannies' societies that particularly affect child socialisation, and those that bear on the institution of marriage.

6.4.1 Standards of behaviour

Cultural values that most directly bear on the early up-bringing of children, particularly in Muslim countries, are in areas like smoking, drinking, swearing and the concept of revenge — especially blood revenge — as a right or even a duty. The majority of

nannies, it emerged, came from societies which encourage none of these; but a substantial minority had been brought up to accept the first three, even in children under 12, and to encourage the fourth. This state of affairs would seem to make it essential for Omani parents to discuss these points with their nannies; but as we have seen, such discussion is often difficult if not impossible.

Table 6.15 Standards of behaviour in nannies' families

Cultural assumption (%)	Yes	No	Not known
Smoking	19	79	2
Drinking	11	88	1
Swearing	11	88	1
Revenge	21	79	—

6.4.2 Responsibility for child's moral education

The situation is further complicated by the fact that most nannies consider it the responsibility of the parents alone to establish values such as these; accordingly, they may be expected not to concern themselves unduly to teach the values of the society in which they are employed, rather than those with which they have themselves grown up.

A sizable minority of nannies were prepared to extend the responsiblity for moral/ethical education to the wider family group, rather than to the parents alone. But only a tiny percentage were prepared to extend it to outside bodies, such as churches or educators.

Table 6.16 Nannies' view of responsibility for child's socialisation

Responsibilty for moral education	%
Parents	81
Parents and relatives	15
Parents and church	3
Parents and school	1

6.5.3 Religious values

84% of the nanny sample were accustomed to practise the rites of their respective religions in their home countries. As we have seen, foreign nannies in Oman belong to four different religious faiths; only a third are Muslims. Most of the Muslims do claim to observe religious occasions, such as the celebration of the Prophet Mohammed's

Birthday, or his journey to Jerusalem or his ascent to Heaven; and the two feasts associated with Ramadhan, the Eid-alfitre Feast and the Sacrifice Feast, although the actual figures seem to dispute this. Rather more than half the believers were Christians who celebrated the birth of Christ, though surprisingly few kept Easter. A few devout worshippers read the Bible or the Koran or other holy books, and a slightly larger number went regularly to church or temple. On the whole, though, the proportions were small.

Table 6.17 Attendance at holy rites in nannies' societies

Rites (%)	%
Christmas	46
Medioly	3
Mohammed's birthday	11
Mohammed's journey	9
Ramadhan feasts	9
Easter	1
Deseirs	1
Church	14
Holy books	6

In many societies, specific rites are assigned to specific occasions, such as birth, engagement, marriage, death etc. Most nannies agreed that such rites were performed on the aforementioned occasion, but considerable disagreement existed about other occasions such as circumcision, weaning, and coming-of-age or initiation ceremonies. Societies differed also in their reliance on doctors or priests in case of illness.

Table 6.18 Rites for specific occasions in nannies' societies

Rites (%)	Yes	No	Unspecified
Engagement	86	14	—
Marriage	96	4	—
Birth	66	34	—
Circumcision	36	63	1
Death	69	31	—
Weaning	16	84	—
Coming-of-age	14	86	—
Reliance on doctors	95	5	—
Reliance on priests	66	33	1

Most nannies claimed that religious observance was a regular feature of their society, and agreed that religious practices were normally performed communally, in recognised places of worship. In about 40% of cases lack of participation in such worship was said to be attended by public ostracism or at any rate severe social disapproval. 10% refused to answer the question about religious songs and dances as a recognised part of religious ritual.

Table 6.19 Incidence of religious observance in nannies' societies

Religious Faith (%)	Yes	No	Unspecified
Practising members	84	14	2
Communal worship	82½	7½	10
Ostracism for non-conformers	39	51	—
Religious songs/dances	44	46	10

It cannot be concluded from these figures therefore that the nannies in the sample were an irreligious bunch, in the sense that they had rejected, or never been in contact with, religious values. But it might not be unreasonable to suppose, from the very small numbers who regularly attended *specific* ceremonies, apart from Christmas and Mohammed's Birthday, (Table 6.16), that these values sat fairly lightly on a good many. Interesting in this respect is the figure in Table 6.18 showing those nannies who felt they would or would not face ostracism by their societies for not conforming conscientiously to the dictates of their faith. The 51% who would *not* risk disapproval *might* at least feel less bound than their colleagues to observe religious *values* as well as religious practices.

6.4.4 Family values

A study of family values in different societies can reveal a great deal about two things: the state of development of each society, and its view of the status of women. As we have seen in chapter I, Oman is a society struggling to adapt gracefully to very rapid economic and social development; in particular, as a Muslim society, it has to adapt a particular historical and religious view of the role of women to changing social

conditions; without, if possible, losing the essence of that view. Hence, the role of the mother — even the *working* mother — as chief socialiser and guardian of the nation's cultural, moral and religious traditions, is especially important in linking the old and the new. If this role is to be shared with, or even handed over to, the nanny, it is important to know where she, and *her* society, stand in relation to this vital question. A large part of this research, therefore, was designed to discover the assumptions about marriage, and the role of women in marriage, in the nannies' own societies.

(1) Family type

As has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, modernisation tends to bring with it a change from the *extended* to the *nuclear* family. 74% of the nannies came from societies where the extended family was the norm, and only 26% from societies where the nuclear type prevailed.

Table 6.20 Nannies' family type

Family type	%
Extended	74
Nuclear	26

This suggests that most nannies come from societies less developed than Oman.

(2) Women's rights

Most nannies (91%) came from societies which allowed women to take paid employment. It seems possible however that this stems more from economic necessity than from a liberated view of women's rights; 38% of nannies came from societies which restricted women's activities in other respects, such as for example the nature of the work she may undertake. In particular, 36% came from societies which denied women the right to seek divorce — more than the percentage which forbids divorce altogether; so clearly women are being discriminated against here. After divorce, or even widowhood, 25% of nannies would not have been allowed to remarry, or even, in some cases, to wean their children in order to go out to work to support themselves (although officially at least, their ex-husbands are still responsible for their welfare). 13% would not have been given custody of the children. 39% of nannies came from

societies which officially allowed the husband to beat and swear at his wife, even in front of the children, and 23% admitted that this had actually happened. All this suggests that, in between a quarter and a third of cases, the nannies came from societies where wives are not held in high regard; an attitude which might very well be reflected in their own upbringing of children, and which conflicts with the aim of enlightened Omanis to raise the status of women while still maintaining their traditional role as socialisers of their children.

Table 6.21 Status of women in nannies' societies

Status of women (%)	Yes	No	Not known
Women may work	91	9	—
Women suffer restrictions	38	62	—
Husband may divorce	68	32	—
Wife may divorce	55	36	9
Mother allowed custody	68	13	19
Husband *may* beat wife	39	61	—
Husband *does* beat wife	23	76	1

(3) Marriage and the family

Marriage is encouraged in the nannies' societies, and nearly two-thirds of them claimed that divorce is rejected — though the remaining 40% contested the truth of this claim. More than half the nannies came from societies without birth-control or family planning policies; the bulk of them (98%) from Asia, where population growth is notably out of control. Most nannies preferred to bear male children, for reasons of economic advantage and social prestige. They were about equally divided on the question of marriage within the extended family group, and about a third preferred early marriage i.e. before the age of 14. (The figures here as to the exact age of marriage are slightly confused and contradictory, probably because the nannies themselves took a fairly casual view of the distinction between marriage at 15, 14, or even earlier). Most of them, (69%), considered that between 15 and 19 was the right age for females, and 19+ for males.

Table 6.22 Marriage values in nannies' societies

Marriage values (%)	Yes	No	Not known
Marriage the norm	96	3	1
Divorce frowned on	60	40	—
No birth-control	58	42	—
Preference for boys	64	31	5
Marriage within the clan	48	45	7
Early marriage	33	66	1

Table 6.23 Age of marriage in nannies' societies

Marriage age (%)	<15	15/16	17/18	19+	21+
Male	—	1	15	40	44
Female	9	35	34	16	6

When it comes to supporting the family, virtually all (96%) the nannies were agreed that the father was the person responsible for his family's support, and that this was the source of the moral and legal authority over the family that almost as many of them (92%) considered him to have. Only a tiny minority (4%) thought that father and mother shared that authority, and an equally tiny one thought that the mother was its source. Yet an even greater proportion thought that the mother shares with the father the responsibility of working to support the family — surely an illogical point of view, and one which in Western eyes would underline the nannies' — and their societies' — low opinion of their own worth. Yet in few of the areas covered by this enquiry was there such unanimity as in this one (see Table (6.24) below). Two-thirds of the nannies came from societies where failure to support one's family adequately and respectably was regarded as cause for shame, though oddly enough begging was considered shameful in only just over half.

Table 6.24 Responsibility for family support in nannies' societies

Family support (%)	Yes	No	Not known
Father supports	96	4	—
Father and Mother support	98	2	—
Failure is shameful	68	32	—
Begging is shameful	55	45	—

Table 6.25 Source of family authority in nannies' societies

Family authority	Father	Mother	Father & Mother
%	92	4	4

(4) Social relationships

All nannies agreed that solidarity among the extended family was a regular and desirable feature of their societies, and most of them believed in being on good terms with their neighbours, and involving and being involved with them in both happy and sad events. 75% of nannies would expect to exchange hospitality with their neighbours, and 90% of nannies came from societies which put hospitality high on their list of priorities. On the other hand, a surprisingly high proportion came from communities which still took physical action to avenge an injury.

Most of these attributes are features — often good features — of primitive societies. They do suggest however at best a lack of sophistication, at worst a degree of uncouthness, in the nannies themselves; and particularly worrying is the low value placed on the role of mothers, who, as we have seen in earlier chapters, are the prime source of successful socialisation in a modern society.

6.5 Conclusions

More or less everything about the personal circumstances of the foreign nannies in this sample cast doubt on their suitability as agents of socialisation for Omani children. Their obvious commitment to their home countries, shown by their failure to settle their families in Oman, their lack of education in their own cultures and their frequent almost complete ignorance of the Arabic language, mean that the level of care they can offer must be questioned. Almost as important as their inability to communicate with the children is the limitation set on their cooperation with their employers by this same linguistic deficiency. Clearly also their status as employees is not high; they are neither paid as, nor considered for the most part to be, professionals. Even if they had the ability to convey anything of the traditions and culture of the children's society, they do not for the most part know anything of it, coming as most of them do from totally different cultural backgrounds. Patterns of behaviour in the nannies' own families are not more reassuring. Setting aside the fact that their attitudes to restrictions on food and drink are often quite unsuitable for orthodox Omanis, they too often have no sensible routine of mealtimes or bedtimes for their own children, and they are often careless in supervising their younger children's play and playmates.

Their general principles of socialisation seem at first sight fairly liberal — but the number of children who would not complain if their parents ill-treated them, and the number of nannies who are prepared to frighten their children into submission, make one wonder just how far principles and practice agree.

The large number of questions on the cultural values of the nannies' societies produced answers which could have been predicted from their socio-economic background (6.3.12). By and large, the values which emerged — family and group loyalty, religious orthodoxy, male dominance — were those of countries or districts which had not yet experienced in full the kind of modern influences which are now affecting Oman. The lowly status of women in such cultures, their lack of education and low expectation of esteem, do not fit them well for such an important occupation as bringing up children to be good, well-adjusted citizens.

CHAPTER VII: The Nanny's Role

7.1 Introduction

As was seen in chapter 6, the status of the nanny in Oman is low; she is normally regarded (by herself as well as by her employers) as at least as much housemaid as nanny. There is a clear historical explanation for this. From the earliest times, Gulf traders brought slaves from nothern and eastern Africa and Zanzibar to sell to wealthy Omanis. Male slaves were usually put to sea, as fishermen in summer and merchant seamen in winter. Female slaves (and male ones too) supplied domestic labour needs. As domestic needs continued to expand, these were supplemented in this century by Iranian women who worked as shop assistants during the day and as housemaids after shop hours. These women earned a fixed salary, unlike the slaves they worked alongside, and they did, unlike the slaves, have some rights — of marraige, giving notice, etc. — but in all other respects they had no status, as the local term to describe them demonstrates; they were called 'bashkar' — slaves; although at one stage they constituted 25% of the total Gulf population. (Abdu-El-Javad, 'Impact of Asian maids and expatriate nannies in the United Arab Emirate', 1982).

During the 1950's, Asian women began to arrive in the Gulf countries in increasing numbers to work as housemaids at low wages. By the time of the discovery of oil in the 1960's, these Indian workers, and in due course other mainly Asian women, had replaced the slaves. Although by the 70's, the term 'Bashkar' had largely been replaced by Westernised expressions such as 'houseboy', 'babysitter', 'housemaid' etc., the underlying concept was essentially the same; these workers were 'slaves' in all but name. And yet, increasingly, as economic conditions (see Chapter 2) forced Omani mothers out to work, these women, initially mere domestic skivvies, were entrusted not only with the physical care, but also with the socialisation, of Omani children. This explains the low salaries, the lack of professional status, and the corresponding lack of qualifications for the job, which are generally the mark of nannies in Oman today (see Chapter 6). Accordingly, the questions in the latter part of Questionnaire A1, addressed to the nanny-employing families in the sample, were designed to establish, first, what the employers expected from the nannies, and second,

what sort of success the nannies actually made of the child-rearing aspect of their task.

7.2 The nanny's role

7.2.1 The nanny's role in the home

Three-quarters of the employers expected the nanny to be both servant and baby-minder. Of the rest, 17% regarded her as primarily a nanny, and the remainder as a servant only (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Employers' view of nanny's role

Role	Nanny	Servant	Both
Families	17	9	74

There are a number of interesting points here. First of all, the numbers bear a quite close resemblance to the proportion of parents at each stage of the education ladder. The 9% who saw their nannies as servants only form a similar proportion of the nanny-employing group to those in the group who were illiterate (12%); the 17% who regarded them as specialists is comparable to the 19% of university graduates, and the remaining 74% who employed them as both servants and child-minders corresponds closely to the 72% of nanny employers whose educational level lay between bare illiteracy and secondary school qualifications (see Table 5.8). Second, the dual role so frequently expected of the nanny indicates the fairly low priority placed on child socialisation, at least by those mothers who did not themselves undertake it. Later sections of the Questionnaire were designed to discover how many of these there were (Table 7.4). Then there is a divergence between the number of nannies (69%), and the number of employers (74%), who recognise this dual role. This may suggest that the nannies are quicker to recognise where the bulk of their time is spent! It is certainly the case that most nannies 'live-in', more often than not sharing the children's bedroom, which seems to indicate that they are expected to deal with small children overnight and in the early morning.

Table 7.2 Nannies' sleeping arrangements

Sleeping location	%	Sleeping arrangements	%
With family	99	With children	59
Outwith family	1	In own room	40

A further practical check on the nanny's *actual* role within the family is an analysis of the tasks she actually carries out, in order of frequency (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Allocation of nanny's time

Task	Ranking
Washing-up	1
Cleaning	2
Washing & ironing	3
Serving food	4
Cooking	5
Cleaning children	6
Feeding children	7
Sleeping with children	8
Waking children	9
Taking children out	10
Caring for older family members	11
Accompanying children on family visit	12
Shopping	13
Helping children with homework	14

7.3.2 The nanny's role with the children

The socialisation of children takes place through all the minutiae of daily routine. This is where the cultural stamp is put upon the child which marks him as a life-member of his society. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, to discover *who* is responsible for this routine. From Table (7.3) it is clear that in most families, the nanny's role as maid-of-all-work is paramount. Nevertheless, a large part of her time is still concerned with looking after the children. The question is, how important is her role with the children compared with that of the mother? The figures which follow in Table (7.4) cover most of the day-to-day activities connected with children, which are the crucial area for socialisation. The questions were put to the mothers, rather than to the nannies; it is possible that a different set of figures might have emerged from them.

Table 7.4 Nannies' role in child-care

Role	Mother	Nanny	Both	Other	Not known
Giving child medicine	69	7	24	—	—
Minor first aid	65	5	21	8	1
Telling stories	55	6	15	6	18
Nightime responsibility	54	18	21	1	7
Helping with homework	46	1	3	16	34
Feeding infants	43	21	29	1	6
Baby-care	41	23	29	7	—
Getting children off to school	39	29	8	2	22
Nappy-changing	36	28	30	—	6
Cleaning older children	31	34	34	1	—
Playing with children	26	41	24	4	5
Feeding and dressing children	22	49	23	3	3

From these figures it seems that the mother takes priority in most areas of child-care apart from cleaning, feeding and dressing the children, and, surprisingly, playing with them.

In an enquiry of this kind, there is no place for dispensing with the evidence. Whilst the researcher's personal experience of these situations suggests a very different picture, it has to be concluded from the evidence in this research that the nannies' major influence is confined to these areas. These questions were addressed to the parents, and it is their answers we are dealing with. With hindsight, it would have been a good idea to put the same questions to the nannies. However, even if we assume that the parents' responses are unbiased, it is interesting to see, first, how many parents (approximately a quarter) are prepared to hand over *all* the handling of their children to the nannies (items 4, and 6-12); and secondly, how influential the last three items actually are; especially no. 11. A child who is fed, washed, dressed and played with by his nanny is effectively socialised by her in all important aspects. It would not be unreasonable to conclude that between a third and a half of Omani toddlers in the nanny-employing sample, at a conservative estimate, are being socialised by their nannies. The remainder certainly cannot escape her influence.

7.4 The employers' view of the nannies

7.4.1 Employers' satisfaction with nannies overall

The vast majority of mothers were reasonably satisfied with their nannies; though of course since 83% regarded them as at least to some degree servants the reasons for this satisfaction are not necessarily primarily connected with child care.

Table 7.5 Employer satisfaction

Satisfied	Completely	Mostly	Fairly	Dissatisfied
Mothers (%)	50	39	6	5

7.4.2 Reasons for satisfaction or the reverse

The principal reason for satisfaction with a nanny was her obedience, followed by her faithfulness to the family, and only after that, the time she was prepared to devote to the children. Some way behind were her respect for family values and customs, her lack of interference with their affairs, and the amount of time she was prepared to devote to them. Discretion was important — but good conduct came nowhere.

Table 7.6 Reasons for family satisfaction with nannies

Reasons for satisfaction	% of families nominating reason	Ranking
Obedience	92	1
Faithfulness	81	2
Time spent with children	77	3
Respect for family values	56	4
Lack of interference	55	5
Time devoted to family	55	6
Discretion	45	7
Good conduct	1	8

Where dissatisfaction existed in any degree, the primary reason correspondingly was disobedience. A long way behind came conflicting values, or personal problems, and a long way behind that came carelessness with the children, lack of loyalty to the family, and an assortment of other problems such as lying, loose conduct or generally being difficult. The low priority given to 'carelessness with the children' is surprising, especially in view of the high priority given to 'time spent with the children' among

those satisfied with their nannies. Further research would be required to discover whether the *quality* of the time spent with the children was of significance to the parents or not. In any case, it is interesting that in both tables (Table 7.6 and Table 7.7), the principal reasons for satisfaction or the reverse are not connected with the children. This reinforces the impression that most parents do not set a high value on the nannies' role as socialisers of the young.

Table 7.7 Reasons for dissatisfaction

Reasons for dissatisfaction	% of families nominating reason	Ranking
Disobedience	86	1
Personal problems	43	2
Conflicting values	43	3
Unfaithfulness	29	4
Carelessness with children	29	5
Uncooperativeness	14	6
Lying	14	7
Misconduct	14	8

7.4.3 Employers' satisfaction or otherwise with nannies as child-carers

Only just over half of the employers were completely satisfied with their nannies as child-carers. A further 36% were mostly satisfied, and a minority were fairly or not at all satisfied.

Table 7.8 Satisfaction with nannies as child-carers

Satisfied	%
Completely	58
Mostly	36
Fairly	4
Not at all	2

Rather more of the mothers were satisfied with the nannies as *nannies* than as combined nanny-servants. This *could* mean that the nannies were better at being nannies than servants. On the other hand, it could also mean that the mothers were more exacting in their demands of their servants than of their child-carers. The extent to which they were prepared to delegate child-caring duties such as *playing* with the children to the

nannies (see Table 7.4) gives some colour to the second interpretation, as does the fact that 'time spent with the children' comes only third on the list of reasons for satisfaction with the nannies' general performance.

7.4.4 Attitudes of employers to nannies as child-carers

The reasons given for satisfaction with their treatment of the children in particular are interesting. Again, obedience was the first requriement (93%), but almost as important was the requirement of kindness to the children (92%). Skill in handling children came a long way behind at 59%, and the only other virtue mentioned (at 28%) was 'Taking the children to places they wanted to go' — which might be a good or a bad thing according to the sort of places those happened to be! Kindness to the children is obviously essential; but other important aspects of a nanny's job, such as training in good habits, physical and moral, are simply not mentioned. In other words, the nanny is regarded as a child-minder pure and simple, and socialisation is left to the accidents of her character and background.

Table 7.9 Mothers' reasons for satisfaction with nannies as child-carers

Reasons	% of families nominating reason	Ranking
Obedience	93	1
Kindness to children	92	2
Skill in handling	59	3
Taking them out	28	4

The 6% of mothers who were least satisfied with their nannies produced reasons which, at least some of the time, suggested a more intelligent assessment of the nanny's function. Disobedience was still the first reason for dissatisfaction. But 40% of these parents cited the nanny's ignorance of the language as a disadvantage (presumably the other 94% (see Table (7.8)) did not regard this as a serious drawback), and 20% were unhappy about her teaching the children her own customs and values. Both these imply a serious concern for her influence on education and character formation. The other criticisms concerned the nanny's unsympathetic treatment of the children — criticisms which might or might not have been justified; and a sizable minority complained that the nanny was not trustworthy.

Table 7.10 Mothers' reasons for dissatisfaction with nannies as child-carers

Reasons	% of families nominating reason	Ranking
Disobedience	100	1
Complaints from children	60	2
Lack of Arabic	40	3
Failure to listen to their problems	40	4
Harsh treatment	20	5
Teaching alien values	20	6
Untrustworthiness	20	7

7.4.5 Children's relations with nanny

Whatever doubts there may be as to the influence of nannies on Omani children, the children in the sample families appear on the whole to have enjoyed good relations with their nannies. Four-fifths felt they had a good relationship with the nanny, and the remainder thought it was at least normal. Absolutely no-one considered the relationship was bad. This result agrees poorly with the complaints of harsh treatment made by some children (see Table 7.10), which perhaps suggests a whitewash on the part of some parents.

Table 7.11 Sample families' view of child-nanny relationship

Relationship	% of families
Good	79
Normal	21
Bad	—

This broad classification can be broken down into more detailed responses, all of which suggest that the nannies' kindness to the children (see Table (7.9)) has encouraged a generally open and trusting attitude on the children's part towards the nannies. This of course increases enormously the potential influence of the nannies on the socialisation process.

Table 7.12 Children's response to nannies

Children's responses	% of families
Treating nanny kindly	92
Listening to nanny's advice	71
Not telling tales	70
Telling nanny secrets	27
Asking after nanny when she is absent	2

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter began by reviewing the historical reasons for the low social and educational status of nannies, and by asking what the families in the sample expected of them and how far they were pleased with what they got. The answer to the first question appears to be that the families' expectations were on the whole not high; they mostly expected their nannies to be at least as much servant as nanny, and even the kind of child-care they were looking for was of a fairly basic, physical sort. Within these fairly narrow limits both they and their children were largely satisfied with the nannies' performance. There was little sign, however, that they appreciated or were concerned with the possible long-term effects of the nannies on the socialisation of the children (see Chapter 3), and no sign at all that they expected her to enrich or extend the child's cognitive, imaginative or moral experience. The success on the whole of the children's bonding with the nannies (see Table 7.12) makes the nannies' influence all the more likely to be significant, for good or ill.

CHAPTER VIII: Motivation for Employment of Nannies

8.1 Introduction: Modernization and the Gulf Region

8.2 Increase in employment of nannies

8.3 Motivation for employment of nannies

8.3.1 Nanny-employing Families.

1. Reasons claimed for employing foreign nannies

2. Effects of individual variables on employment of nannies:

(i) No. of children under 6,

(ii) Total no. of children,

(iii) Mother's employment status,

(iv) Mother's educational level,

(v) Family income.

3. Duration and frequency of employment in preceding 5 years.

8.3.2 Non-nanny-employing Families.

1. Reasons given for *not* employing nannies.

2. Theoretical/potential reasons in favour of employing nannies.

3. Effects of possible variables (see 2 above) on such potential employment.

8.4 Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

8.1.2 Modernisation and the Gulf Region:

The findings about the effects of modernisation, and the strains and stresses to which the family and children in particular are subjected, have a direct bearing on this study of the role of hired care-givers or nannies immigrating from far-eastern countries such as Thailand and the Philippines, into countries of the Gulf-Arab region. If, as has been suggested, the child undergoes some degree of trauma when his mother departs and care-giver of the *same* culture, language and race takes over, how much greater would be the degree of stress, and how much more damaging would be the consequences of this stress on the child's personality and character development, when these far-eastern nannies, of alien culture, language and racial stock are put in charge of the Gulf-Arab child.

While the problem is examined in terms of Oman alone, it should really be seen in the context of the development of modernisation in the Gulf-Arab region as a whole (See chapter 2). This region has certain typical characteristics that do not lend themselves to neat parallels with other parts of the world. For example, in the first place, modernisation in this region has ensued from the discovery of vast quantities of oil and the resultant flow of unprecedented wealth that has almost overnight raised the standard of living of the people of the region. As a result, they have by-passed in great leaps the centuries of historical change that took place in other modernised societies. They have also outstripped in the pace of their modernisation, all other similar traditional societies through their ability to import the latest and most advanced technologies and to employ the most efficient personnel and the most sophisticated systems from all over the world.

But these are not their only unique features. The typical urge in the region remains the wish to harness modernisation to the strengthening of the traditional culture and religious beliefs. Hence their approach to modernisation is different from that of any other region.

Their politics in educational and social planning reflect both the difficulties and the aspirations inherent in this highly individual pattern of modernisation. Their family

system has not been immune to the strains of the process, and the employment of imigrant care-givers for their children has been one symptom of such strain. This study contends that these nannies are there because the countries in the region have not yet been able to set up viable networks of institutions of child-care, such as kindergartens, nurseries, and infant schools, simply because they do not yet have suitably trained and qualified females from among their own nationals to run them. It also contends that the overall effect of the nannies on the character formation of the Gulf-Arab child is more negative than positive, because they cannot bridge the cultural gap.

8.2 Increase in employment of nannies

There has recently been a great increase in the employment of nannies in Oman. This study shows that, in the studied sample, there are about 89% of nannies who have been in Oman for less than 4 years and 74% less than 2 years. This increase has resulted very largely from the process of modernisation which the country has undergone in the twentieth century. In the discussion of this topic which prefaced this study, it has been suggested that economic pressures have been a main contributory factor in the growth of nanny-employment. The study has, however, been concerned to examine in more detail the full range of causes underlying the phenomenon.

8.3 Motivation for employment or non-employment of nannies

8.3.1 Nanny-employing families

The great majority of these families (94%) considered that nannies were essential.

1. Reasons claimed for employing nannies

The reasons given by the sample families for their employment of nannies came under a number of heads (not mutually exclusive), of which domestic help was, at 83%, by far the most significant. Other important categories were: mothers being at work (51%), and numerous children (44%). The remaining motives *acknowledged* by these families were much less influential: care for the elderly, family prestige or tradition, the absence abroad of the wife, or the convenience of having a resident baby-sitter. None of these accounted for more than 5% of the answers. Clearly, housework was the primary reason

for the employment, with children constituting no more than an aspect of this.

Table 8.1 Reasons given for the employment of nannies

Reasons	%	Ranking
Housework	83	1
Working mother	51	2
Numerous children	44	3
Care of elderly	5	4
Prestige	3	5
Family tradition	1	6
Wife abroad	1	7
Baby-sitting	1	8

2. Effects of individual variables on employment of nannies

(i) The number of children under 6

It had been expected that a family's desire to employ a nanny would increase with the number of small children in the family. In fact, this turned out not to be so. Families with one child were just as likely to feel that nannies were essential as those with variously large numbers of offspring.

Table 8.2 Number of children under 6 as a factor in employment of nannies

No. of children under 6 years of age	Nanny essential (%)	Nanny not essential (%)
1	100	—
2	91	9
3	94	6
4	86	14
5	100	—
6	—	—
7	100	—

(ii) The total number of children

It had been expected that there would be a significant correlation between the total number of children in a family and its perception of the nanny as both childminder and servant. This proved to be so. Families with substantial numbers of children were almost unanimous in feeling that nannies were essential.

Table 8.3 Total no. of children as a factor in employment

No. of children	Nanny essential (%)	Nanny not essential (%)
3-4	92	8
5-6	93	7
7-8	100	—
9-10	93	7
11-20	100	—

(iii) Mother's employment status

It had been expected that families with working mothers would be more likely to employ nannies than those where the mother was at home. However, this did not prove to be the case.

Table 8.4 Working mothers as a factor in employment

Mother's status	Nanny essential (%)	Nanny not essential (%)
Working	93	7
Housewife	95	5

(iv) Mother's education level as a factor in employment

In the nanny-employing family group, all education levels were more or less equally interested in employing nannies.

Table 8.5 Educational level as a factor in employment

Mother's education	Nanny essential (%)	Nanny not essential (%)
Illiterate	100	—
Reads and writes	100	—
Primary	83	17
Preparatory	100	—
Secondary	92	8
University	93	7

The large proportion of ill-eduated proponents of nanny-employment is particularly worrying, since these are the mothers least likely (a) to be aware of the possible consequences for their children of such employment, and (b) least likely to be able to compensate for the nannies' deficiences.

Table 8.8 Reasons for intermittent employment of nannies

Reasons	Ranking
Nannies not needed	1
Nannies difficult to get	2
Nannies' non-return from holiday	3
Problems caused by previous nannies	4

8.2.2 Non-nanny-employing families

Non-nanny-employing families were asked whether in principle they would or would not consider employing nannies. About 40% of these families *would* consider employing a nanny, and about 60% would not.

1. Reasons given for not employing nannies

The 60% who would not employ nannies gave the following reasons: that a nanny is not needed; that they fear the nanny's effects on their children, or the problems she might cause in the household; that a nanny simply is not wanted or that there already is a servant; that the mother prefers to keep the rearing of her children in her own hands; that there are only a small number of children in the family, or that previous experience with nannies has been unfavourable.

Table 8.9 Reasons for not employing nannies

Reasons	Ranking
Nanny not needed	1
Nanny's influence on children	2
Potential problems in home	3
Nanny not wanted	4
There is a servant	5
Mother's role	6
Small family	7
Previous poor experience	8

2. Theoretical/potential reasons for employing nannies

The 40% who *would* employ nannies, gave the following reasons why they would consider it: for help with housework and child rearing, because the mother was at work or studying in the evenings, because of large families, or because few nurseries exist in Oman at present, and those that do are very expensive and often do not employ Omani personnel. Table 8.10 shows the relative importance of these reasons.

Table 8.10 shows the relative importance of these reasons.

Table 8.10 Possible reasons for employing nannies

Reasons	Ranking
Housework	1
Child-rearing	2
Working mother	3
No. of children	4
No Omani nurseries	5
Nurseries expensive	6
Evening study	7

3. Effects of possible variables (as with the nanny-employing families) on such potential employment

(i) No. of children under 6

Unlike the nanny-employing families, the non-nanny-employing families show a significant correlation between the number of children under 6 and the desire to employ nannies. The figures are given — Table 8.11.

Table 8.11 No. of children under 6 as a potential factor in employment

No. of children under 6	Nanny essential (%)	Nanny not essential (%)
1	25	75
2	52	48
3	35	65
4	40	60
5	67	33
6	100	—

(ii) Total number of children

The results here are puzzling. Clearly families with older children are much less inclined to turn to nannies than those with mainly younger ones. In the families with 5-6 children *not* under 6, only 52% feel the need for nannies, as opposed to the 67-100% with younger children. Among the families with even larger numbers of children, the percentage is even smaller. The likeliest explanation of this is perhaps that the nanny-phenomenon is much more widely spread among younger families than among older, more traditional ones.

Table 8.12 shows the results.

Table 8.12 Total no. of children as a factor in employment

No. of children	Nanny essential (%)	Nanny not essential (%)
3-4	31	69
5-6	52	48
7-8	43	57
9-10	22	78
11-20	30	70

(iii) Mother's employment status

Among the non-nanny-employing families, as with the other group, the mother's employment status seems not to be a significant factor. The figures are as follows in Table 8.13:

Table 8.13 Mother's employment status as a factor in employment

Mother's status	Nanny essential (%)	Nanny not essential (%)
Working	37	63
Housewife	44	56

(iv) Mother's education level

Mothers in this group whose education ended at primary school or preparatory level seem slightly more likely to favour the employment of nannies than those at either lower or higher levels of attainment. But the difference is not large. Table 8.14.

Table 8.14 Mother's education level as a factor in employment

Mother's education	Nanny essential (%)	Nanny not essential (%)
Illiterate	41	59
Reads and writes	20	80
Primary	64	36
Preparatory	50	50
Secondary	21	79
University	36	64

(v) Family income

Among this group, there was a slightly greater tendency for the families at the lowest

income level to favour the employment of nannies than at the other levels. Interestingly, the next lowest level was the least likely of all to consider such employment as Table 8.15 shows.

Table 8.15 Family income level as a factor in employment

Family income (O.R.)	Nanny essential (%)	Nanny not essential (%)
200	60	40
600	29	71
1000	33	67
1400	45	55
1800	45	55

8.3 Conclusions

By far the strongest reason for employing a nanny, both in the nanny-employing and non-nanny-employing groups, was the acqusition of domestic help. Closely behind in importance for both groups came the need for help with large families; though in the case of the non-nanny-employing group, this only seemed to apply to families with large numbers of *small* children. Those who approved in principle of nanny-employment, whether they actually employed one or not, frequently claimed that the mother's being out at work was an important factor in the decision to employ a nanny; but in fact just as many housewives as working mothers in the nanny-employing group (95% and 93% respectively) considered a nanny to be essential; and among those who did not actually employ one, much the same proportion of housewives as working mothers approved of such employment,with the housewives actually leading the way (44% as against 37%). Levels of education or income seemed to have little influence on attitudes to nanny-employment; although among those who did not (as yet) employ them, the greatest support came from those with the *lowest* income and educational qualifications. The only parents who appeared to have considered reasons other than convenience in deciding whether or not to have a nanny came from the non-nanny-employing group, some of whom mentioned the potentially damaging influence on their children of a nanny, the need to maintain the mother's role, and the shortcomings of existing

nurseries as among their reasons for *not* having a nanny.

Since, despite their claims to the contrary, mothers' being out at work seems *not* to affect the decision to employ a nanny, one can only speculate as to the motives behind the decision on the part of the non-working mothers. Apart from the acknowledged motives of help with household chores and child-minding, the *un*acknowledged motive of social prestige (only 3% of nanny-employing households admitted to it) seems a likely explanation.

In any case, domestic convenience rather than educational concern seemed to be the prime concern, both of those who *did* and those who *might* employ a nanny.

CHAPTER IX: The Effects of Using Foreign Nannies

9.1 Introduction

The importance of childhood as the groundbase of socialisation has been fully discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation. As the English poet Wordsworth has so memorably said, "The child is father of the man"; but the child is dependent on his milieu for successful integration into his society, and he imbibes the culture of that society with his mother's milk. This means that early influences make a deep impression. It seemed essential therefore to discover whether nannies, as a major early influence, and an important, if not the most important, part of that milieu, have any marked effect on the socialisation process. To do this, the children of the nanny-employing families were compared with those of the non-nanny-employing group over a wide range of developmental characteristics.

9.2 The Stages of Childhood

Because development proceeds at different rates at different stages of growth, and because the effect, if any, of nannies as a variable might appear in different degrees at different stages, the children were investigated in two age-groups, from 2-4 and from 4-6. For simplicity's sake, scientists divide human life into distinct stages according to developmental characteristics and needs. However, there are three facts to be considered here. First, these stages are merely an artificial concept for the convenience of scientific study, and in reality they clearly overlap. Secondly, the properties assigned to each stage are *mean* properties; individuals can vary widely. Thirdly, at any given stage the psychological, sociological and cognitive influences on the development of the individual are hard to disentangle.

In Britain a child is considered to have reached adulthood at the age of eighteen, when he or she is entitled to vote in a Parliamentary election.

Although development is a lifelong process, by this stage he is reckoned to have reached a steady state in his development, and to be physically and socially mature. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, childhood will be defined as being the years from birth to the age of twelve, divided into four stages: babyhood (from 0-2 years); early

childhood (2-6 years); middle childhood (6-8 years), and late childhood (8-12 years). This study is concerned with the second stage, that of early childhood, further subdivided into the years from 2-4, referred to hereafter as 'stage 1'; and from 4-6, referred to as 'stage 2'. These stages correspond to Erikson's second and third psychosocial stages of development, those of autonomy and initiative on the one hand, and a growing awareness of shame, doubt and guilt on the other as set out by Bee in her comprehensive work on socialisation, p.340. At the beginning of the first of these stages, the child has just become mobile, and is beginning to experiment with his physical environment, to increase his cognitive powers and to test the limits of what is permitted to him by his carers. As his skills grow, so does his confidence, and his understanding of his environment and his own place in it. This is when consciousness of the 'ego' begins, without which relationships with those around him cannot take place. These relationships to start with are usually with adult carers, who can help him to understand first himself, and then others. From now on, the child will ask countless questions, both about his surroundings, and increasingly, about feelings and relationships, especially as his world expands to include others of his own age. At this stage he may be aggressive, fearful or jealous, and try to impress by showing off and mimicking others to compensate for his vaguely sensed inadequacy, and to try to establish his own role. It is essential therefore that his role models should be loving and responsible, and that they should handle his questions sensitively and with patience. In this way his confidence can be built up, so that his first social contacts with his peers can be successful and rewarding experiences.

9.3 The Child's Relationship with Parents and Nanny

The importance of *Role-modelling* in the socialisation process (see chapter 3) explains why it was thought necessary to include in the study an examination of the relative status in the child's life of parents and nanny respectively where a nanny was employed. Part of the Questionnaire was therefore aimed at discovering whether the children turned to parents or nanny, whenever they had a choice, in the normal activities of their daily routine.

Table 9.1 Child's preferred source of help or companionship (%)

Activity	Stage 1: 2-4 years			Stage 2: 4-6 years		
	Parent	Nanny	Not known	Parent	Nanny	Not known
(a) Permission to play	73	14	13	84	10	6
(b) Help with homework	26	2	72	58	—	42
(c) Company on outings	73	26	1	84	13	3
(d) Company watching TV	84	8	8	93	7	—
(e) Company at meals	68	31	1	84	16	—
(f) Food when hungry	47	52	1	55	43	2
(g) Settling quarrels	82	10	8	93	7	—
(h) Change of clothes	32	63	5	39	69	1
(i) Sharing bed	54	40	6	46	41	13

The results of this part of the study were unexpected; they showed that in most of the activities covered by the questionnaire the child regarded his/her relationship with the parents as stronger than that with the nanny, and increasingly so in the second stage. The desired relationship between children and parents is much stronger than that between children and nannies in all situations except in (h) and (f), i.e. when children want a change of clothes, or when they are hungry; although even then children in stage 2 are marginally more likely to turn to their parents. When it comes to sleeping arrangements, while the majority of children prefer to sleep with their parents, the margin is a fairly narrow one; but in all other situations the nannies come a poor second. This is particularly marked in the case of help with homework; hardly any children at stage 1 turn to nannies for this, and none at all at stage 2.

It might seem, therefore, that the effect on the child of association with the nanny would be if anything beneficial, since it is generally agreed that children's independence and self-knowledge is increased by interaction with others outside the home. But despite the apparently secondary position of the nanny in the child's world, there remains the possibility that the existence of *any* substantial influence on the child which is antipathetic to the culture of his society may cause in him a sociological battle of which some symptoms might be discernible. The study was designed to discover whether any differences in development, either sociological, psychological or cognitive, were

apparent between the children of the nanny and non-nanny groups.

9.4 Cognitive Development

Development is a continuous process, in which each stage is contingent on the preceding one and in turn affects those that follow. Moreover, the relationship between the various aspects of growth is a positive and dynamic one; progress in one can be an indicator of progress in another, and late development in one area may indicate similarly late development in another. Behaviour can be an indicator of intelligence, late development in walking a sign of impaired emotional or cognitive growth, and so forth. Such growth (as was seen in chapter 3) is determined partly by genetic inheritance, and partly by environmental factors, and it is with environmental factors that we are concerned here. Cognitive and linguistic development are good examples of developmental areas where environmental factors have a large part to play.

Cognitive development is linked with the acquisition of knowledge, which for the young child is dependent on teaching. Knowledge is necessary to supplement the child's direct sensual perception of the world, and allows him to interpret the world, not only intellectually, but morally. So while knowledge can be acquired from many sources, the *actual* source is of immense importance to the nature of his interpretation and to the normal values he adopts. Finally, knowledge and language are to a large extent interdependent, and so both moral and intellectual development are dependent on language. The study has therefore sought to throw light on various aspects of knowledge and language acquirement in the two study groups.

9.4.1 Memory and Recall

Memory is a function which increases very rapidly in the early years (Zaki, 1983). Very young children have minimal ability to remember, partly because they lack a frame of reference, or filing system, by means of which they can store meaningful recollections. Memory is particularly dependent on other aspects of development, such

as language, and the formation of the 'ego'. Significant differences in power of recall are therefore to be expected only in the later stages of childhood, and certainly not before the second stage of the period under study.

Questions 10-12 of Questionnaire A/2 (with which this chapter is concerned) deal with the child's ability to recall recent events, stories he has heard, of incidents from films he has recently seen. As might be expected, there were no significant differences between the two groups at the first stage (see Table 9.2)($\chi^2=1.14$). There was however a significant difference between the two groups at the second stage ($\chi^2= 5.43$), very much in favour of the non-nanny group.

Table 9.2 Memory and recall

Recall (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Things seen and learnt	26	45	29	—	32	34	34	—	51	38	11	—	72	23	5	—
Outline of story	10	26	47	2	14	26	60	—	43	34	23	—	58	26	15	—
Situation from film	14	37	47	2	38	22	40	—	51	35	14	—	70	24	6	—

9.4.2 Size-recognition

In Omani currency, there is a strong positive correlation between the size of notes or coins and their monetary value. Question 13 sets out to discover any significant differences between the two groups in their ability to distinguish the values of the currency on the basis of size. The results (see Table 9.3) at both stages were in favour of the non-nanny group ($\chi^2= 4.19$). Among the relatively small number of children at the first stage who *could* distinguish these values, twice as many were from this group as from the other. At the second stage, while the majority of children in both groups had grasped the concept, a significantly larger number in the nanny group were still unsuccessful than in the non-nanny one. Such perceptual disturbance is very likely to have a positive correlation with other developmental disturbances of a psychological or sociological nature.

Table 9.3 Size-recognition

Size-recognition (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Can differentiate	8	26	66	—	22	18	60	—	54	16	30	—	61	17	21	—

9.4.3 Question-asking

Year 3 is an important transitional year in Early Childhood. At this age the child usually begins to recognise himself and his 'ego' as independent of others. An essential part of this recognition process lies in the incessant questioning of the adults around him, and years 3 and 4 are normally characterised in this way. Question 14 was directed at this aspect of development. Children in the non-nanny group asked significantly more questions at stage 1 ($\chi^2 = 7.14$) than those in the nanny-employed group (see Table 9.4). However by stage 2 the picture is less clear. The difference is still in favour of the non-nanny group, but it is much less significant ($\chi^2 = 9.97$). And if the numbers who ask questions 'to some extent' in both cases are included, the balance swings quite heavily the other way: 90% of nanny-employed children do ask questions as against only 10% who don't, whereas only 78% of non-nanny children do as against 23% who don't. It is difficult to think of an explanation for this, and it may well be an area for future research.

Table 9.4 Question-asking

Question-asking (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Ask frequent questions	27	36	37	—	52	18	30	—	49	41	10	—	62	15	21	—

9.4.4 Reasoning and Co-ordination

Taking apart and re-assembling constructional toys is a skill which demands a combination of muscular co-ordination and reasoning power of a fairly high order. There are a number of extraneous factors which are generally recognised as affecting development in this area: for example, male children usually excel female children in manual skills, and healthy, well-grown children are also likely to be ahead in this

field (Zaki (1983)). Similarly, isolated children tend to be less enterprising and adventurous than their peers, and less inclined to experiment. And in those families which can afford it, exposure to media encouragement of dynamic skills can advance this kind of development. Encouragement of any sort by child-carers, nannies included, is clearly likely to produce faster development in this area.

However, answers to question 15 suggest that there is very little difference between the two groups at either stage; however the trend of really competent children at both stages is faintly in favour of the non-nanny group, but when the partly-competent are included the trend once again swings the other way (see Table 9.5). In any case, the differences are not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 2.15$).

Table 9.5 Skill in assembling/disassembling constructional toys

Constructional skill (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Can manipulate toys	26	35	39	—	36	24	40	—	53	41	6	—	58	23	17	—

9.4.5 Perception of Cause and Effect

Perception is a sociological response to a group of stimuli coming from the outside world. During early childhood a child is still largely a kind of blotting-paper for soaking up physical sensations and impressions. His mental ordering of these impressions is almost always related to practical experience rather than derived from theory. By the age of three he can usually order simple spatial relationships such as can be expressed by the prepositions in, on, over, under, etc. By four, thanks in part to the question-asking process referred to earlier, he has extended the range of understood relationships to include quite a wide spectrum of causal relationships, even some in which effect follows quite a long time after cause (Tizard ,1984). For example, *the relationship between playing with fire and causing a fire (Question 16)* was understood by fewer than 50% of children at stage 1, but by 80% or more of children at stage 2 (see Table 9.6). In this element of the inquiry, nanny-reared children did rather better at both stages than non-nanny-reared ones, though not significantly so ($\chi^2 = 0.30$).

Table 9.6 Perception of cause and effect

Perception of cause and effect (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Sees danger of playing with fire	45	21	34	—	38	18	44	—	88	8	4	—	84	11	5	—

9.4.6 Speech

Speech is enormously important to human beings. It is essential to almost every kind of development: intellectual, emotional and social. Failures in speech can be of three kinds. There are physical defects, which may either be inherited, or psychosomatic in origin; there are defects due to faulty habits of pronunciation, and there is the inarticulateness due to simple lack of appropriate vocabulary; both of which are often the result of inadequate or impoverished social background. Physical speech impediments such as stammering which cannot be explained by inherited factors seem likely to have some connection with personality disturbance, and any correlation between such disturbance and the employment of nannies would have a bearing on the concerns of this study. Similarly, unwillingness to speak may indicate some degree of maladjustment on the part of a child.

(i) Difficulty in articulation

Responses to question 19 (see Table 9.7) do suggest a higher incidence of speech impediment among nanny-reared children at both stages than among the non-nanny group, though once again the differences are not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 0.58$).

Table 9.7 Difficulties in articulation

Speech Impediment (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Impedement	13	23	64	—	4	14	82	—	16	16	68	—	5	7	88	—

(ii) Answering questions

Lack of articulacy from whatever cause, whether through physical, psychosomatic or educational deficiencies, is liable to discourage children from responding to adult talk. There was a clear difference here between the two groups. The non-nanny children were far more likely to answer directly to a question than their non-nanny equivalents. This also suggests a greater degree of confidence on the part of the children of the non-nanny employing group ($\chi^2 = 3.75$).

Table 9.8 Answering questions

Response to questions (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Direct response	29	32	39	—	34	24	42	—	40	45	15	—	52	29	19	—

9.5 Linguistic Development

The importance of language in socialisation has been stressed earlier in this study (see chapter 3). Questionnaire A2 therefore included a section on this topic.

The factors which are likely to affect language development in childhood are as follows: (i) the cultural richness of the environment, (ii) the type of education/learning support or encouragement, (iii) the degree of opportunity for interaction with others, and (iv) the degree of exposure to T.V., books, etc.

Some language enhancement will occur automatically with growth, but much more will depend on adult help and encouragement. It is very important that adult carers should *talk* to children constantly; for only by imitation can a child acquire an adequate vocabulary. This is an area where the nanny might be expected to be particularly influential. The acquisition of language is partly a biological phenomenon, but it is also highly dependent on modelling, and here any confusion of models between mother and nanny could well be damaging to linguistic development. Since socialisation, as we have seen, requires language for communication and interaction with others, this could be a serious disadvantage.

In addition, language involves symbols which in turn reflect the norms and traditions of the child's society, and understanding of these norms affects the individual's ability to

interact socially.

9.5.1 Linguistic Development in Both Groups

With a view to identifying any difference in linguistic competence between the two groups, question 20 inquired as to the adequacy of the children's vocabulary at each stage, and question 17 their ability to handle the grammatical forms of the language. (The questionnaire tested the children's knowledge of familiar local terms, such as garden, mosque, hospital, etc., and their ability to distinguish verbally between masculine and feminine, singular and plural forms).

The answers to question 20 show little if any variation between the two groups, although the expected development from the earlier to the later stage shows up clearly. In the answers to question 17, however, although the difference was not statistically significant, it was nevertheless noticeable: 54% of the non-nanny group at stage 1, and 70% at stage 2, could differentiate in speech between singular and plural, male and female; whereas only 39% and 61% of the nanny group could do the same ($\chi^2 = 0.05$).

Table 9.9 Children's vocabulary

Vocabulary (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Knows terms	40	31	29	—	56	14	30	—	81	16	3	—	87	9	4	—

Table 9.10 Grammatical usage

Grammatical usage (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Can differentiate	39	35	26	—	54	28	18	—	61	19	20	—	70	14	16	—

9.5.2 Linguistic Development in the Nanny-employed Group

(i) Language used to communicate with nanny

About a fifth of the sample's children at the first stage and almost a third at the second used only Arabic to communicate with their nannies, (although this did not preclude their falling into one or more of the other categories as well), and so were probably relatively little affected linguistically.

For the rest, it seemed possible that the nannies could affect children's language in variuous ways. Children might use a kind of 'pidgin', mixed language in speaking to the nanny, or they might use mainly English (though presumably of an extremely basic kind) as a sort of common ground, or they might use the nanny's own language. They might acquire a foreign accent from her, and as a consequence be mocked or ill-treated by their peers. The study found some evidence of all these phenomena amongst the sample. About a third of the children at stage 1 used English, and rather more than a third at stage 2. This at least might be of some limited use to them in later life, though it must be doubtful whether the quality of the English they spoke would be better than 'pidgin'. But nearly a half of the sample's children at stage 1 use mixed language to communicate with the nanny, and more than a quarter at stage 2. Worst of all, nearly a quarter of the sample's children at stage 1 talked *only* (or mainly) in the nanny's language, and only a slightly smaller proportion at stage 2. If one includes in the figures the numbers who used her language to some extent, the phenomenon becomes even more marked ($\chi^2 = 4.74$).

Since the early years are so important in linguistic development, these are rather worrying figures. Even more worrying is the thought that, along with the language, the children may also be imbibing the nanny's alien culture and values at a very impressionable age.

Table 9.11 Language of communication with the Nanny

Language (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years				Stage 2: 4-6 years			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Arabic	19	32	49	—	36	24	40	—
English	36	16	48	—	41	18	41	—
Mixed	40	10	49	1	27	12	61	—
Nanny's language	24	7	68	1	22	7	71	—

(ii) Imitation of the nanny's vocabulary and accent

More than half the sample's children at both stages imitated the nanny's accent, and about a quarter actually employed words and phrases from her native language in their own speech, even outside the home.

Table 9.12 Imitating the nanny's accent or language

Imitation of nanny's accent/patois (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years				Stage 2: 4-6 years			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Accent	58	7	35	—	54	23	23	—
Vocabulary	26	10	64	—	27	12	61	—

iii) Discrimination against children because of accent etc

About a third (increasing between stage 1 and stage 2) of the sample's children suffered some degree of discrimination by their peers on account of their foreign accents and patois. Such a situation is not good for children's confidence.

Table 9.13 Mockery by peers because of non-Omani vocabulary and accent

Discrimination (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years				Stage 2: 4-6 years			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Faces discrimination	23	16	57	4	27	5	68	—

9.6 Psychological Development

The development of an integrated personality is essential for successful socialisation of the individual. Personality development is accounted for by social scientists in a variety of ways. Bee (1989) provides a useful summary of these in her book 'The Developing Child' (see chapter 3). First there is the biological explanation: the child is born with an

individual pattern of response, which persists into adulthood. Then there are the learning theorists, who see conditioning by the environment as the major influence. *Social* learning theorists emphasise the role of *modelling* in the formation of character, and are at pains to point out that children model on *behaviour*, rather than on *precept*, (a point which has much relevance to the effect of nannies on their charges). Social learning theorists also maintain that what children learn from both these sources is not just behaviour patterns, but standards and self-concepts. Both groups are in broad agreement that both genetic inheritance and environmental conditioning combine to form personality (Bee, op. cit., ch 9). Clearly then, if a child is faced with conflicting forms of conditioning and contrasting role-models, some disturbance of personality might reasonably be expected. The study therefore set out to see whether nannies, as an important factor in the environment of children in families where they are employed, have any disturbing effect on their psychological development.

The possible signs of psychological disturbance targeted by the questionnaire were grouped under the headings of fears, anxieties, depression, isolation, shyness, disobedience and aggression; to balance this negative approach, data were provided on positive aspects such as acceptance of discipline and indicators of independence.

9.6.1 Childhood Fears

Fear is a natural and often useful instinct, but it is very dangerous when used as a method of child discipline, and can have destructive psychological effects. The investigation set out to see if there were any signs that nannies were more prone to use this method than parents; or that nanny-reared children were more than averagely vulnerable. The particular fears investigated here were: the fear of being alone in darkness, and fear of 'pet' animals.

Table 9.14 Childhood fears

Childhood fears (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Darkness	60	11	29	—	53	8	39	—	54	18	28	—	36	17	47	—
Animals	21	23	56	—	36	10	54	—	10	19	71	—	13	23	64	—

There was little difference on the score of fear of darkness between the nanny- and non-nanny groups at stage 1 ($\chi^2 = 2.51$), but a noticeable one in favour of the non-nanny group at stage 2 ($\chi^2 = 6.32$). Puzzlingly however, the position was reversed with regard to 'pets' at stage 1 ($\chi^2 = 4.87$), though not significantly so at stage 2 ($\chi^2 = 0.78$).

9.6.2 Anxiety, Depression and Shyness

Symptoms of anxiety in children can take various forms, such as nail-biting, bed-wetting, thumb-sucking, stammering or obsessive clinging to carers. No significant difference in this respect emerged between the groups at either stage ($\chi^2 = 1.77$).

One of the clearest symptoms of maternal deprivation according to Bowlby ('Childhood and the Growth of Love' (1987), ch.7), is a child who is constantly apathetic and shut up in himself. Perhaps not surprisingly, more children in the nanny-employed group at stage 1 appeared to suffer from depression ($\chi^2 = 5.07$) or isolation than in the non-nanny one. At stage 2, however, no difference appeared ($\chi^2 = 0.37$).

Shyness, on the other hand, was more evident at both stages in the nanny-employing group than in the other, although at stage 2 this was true only of *severe* shyness ($\chi^2 = 5.35$).

None of the differences was statistically significant.

Table 9.15 Anxiety, depression and shyness

Anxiety, depression and shyness (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Anxiety	8	11	81	—	10	10	80	—	4	1	95	—	1	8	91	—
Depression/isolation	2	16	82	—	12	12	76	—	3	16	81	—	2	14	84	—
Shyness	20	27	53	—	8	22	70	—	14	26	60	—	8	24	68	—

9.6.3 Attitudes to Discipline

Disobedience in small children can have a number of causes. Lack of love can be one, and 'negative conditioning' another. Whatever the reason, the non-nanny children emerged from the results as both more disobedient and more aggressive than their opposite numbers. There are several possible explanations for this; parents may set higher standards of discipline than nannies, or they may simply be more indulgent than nannies, so that 'negative reinforcement' undermines the force of their authority. Or of course nannies may actually be better disciplinarians ($\chi^2 = 4.11$).

Unsurprisingly, much the same proportion of each group (about a quarter at stage 1, and a half at stage 2, with the faintest possible margin in favour of the non-nanny group), prefer a disciplined environment; although if one looks at the percentage who prefer to be *disorganised*, non-nanny children at stage 1 are much more disorganised than their counterparts in the other group. It does not seem that nannies make very much difference in this area ($\chi^2 = 2.79$).

A negative reaction to criticism, such as tears and withdrawal, can be another sign of defective socialisation. Here there is a distinct difference between the two groups; this time in favour of the non-nanny children. At stage 1 ($\chi^2 = 2.80$), nearly twice as many nanny-reared children as in the non-nanny group reacted negatively in this way; and at stage two the difference was only slightly less marked ($\chi^2 = 10.16$).

It would seem that where the non-nanny children reacted to correction positively with disobedience, the nanny-reared children tended to respond negatively ($\chi^2 = 6.72$) by withdrawal.

Table 9.16 Attitudes to discipline

Attitudes to discipline (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Disobedience	21	36	44	—	31	35	35	—	12	41	47	—	15	61	24	—
Aggression	8	27	65	—	26	24	50	—	23	40	37	—	29	16	55	—
Preference for discipline	23	40	37	—	29	16	55	—	50	28	22	—	50	35	15	—
Negative reaction to correction	31	26	43	—	16	20	64	—	16	27	54	—	13	23	64	—

9.6.4 Degree of Independence

Successful psychological integration produces confidence, and confidence encourages independence. The degree of independence will depend on the extent to which the child is encouraged to *exercise* independence, and this is an area where there are wide variations between one family and another. Child psychologists and educationalists have an important role to play here in teaching parents what degree of independence is appropriate to the child's needs at each stage. It is an area where it is perhaps particularly difficult for a nanny to exercise her own judgement, since the parents will hold her responsible for the child's safety. In this area, non-nanny group children were significantly more successful than their opposite numbers ($\chi^2 = 8.16$). In most of the activities targeted, non-nanny-reared children showed at least 50% more independence than their counterparts, and often more. The degree of dependence shown by nanny-reared children suggests that the nanny's influence over them may be fairly pervasive, or else that parents have less time to cosset their young than nannies have! ($\chi^2 = 20.06$) For more details see (χ^2) tables in appendix 5.1 and 9.1.

Table 9.17 Degree of independence

Degree of independence (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Feeds himself	21	23	56	—	46	14	40	—	70	16	14	—	79	7	14	—
Baths himself	7	6	88	—	8	10	82	—	22	19	59	—	39	6	55	—
Dresses undresses himself	3	15	82	—	8	25	67	—	26	31	43	—	55	8	37	—
Uses the lavatory unaided	10	19	71	—	34	22	14	—	58	15	27	—	72	8	20	—
Gets his own drinking water	16	16	68	—	50	22	28	—	66	18	16	—	88	8	4	—
Goes shopping fo himself	8	11	81	—	16	28	56	—	23	22	55	—	55	21	24	
Rides his bicycle unaided	36	16	48	—	46	12	42	—	58	11	31	—	74	4	22	—

9.7 Social Development

A child's social development involves those area of his life in which (a) he learns to interact with others in his immediate circle, and (b) he begins to absorb first the behavioural and later the cultural assumptions and practices which will enable him to feel confidence in operating within his social milieu. One area of the study looked at a number of indicators both of the child's social confidence and expertise, and of his developing moral sense.

9.7.1 Social Confidence

Social confidence is a prerequisite of successful socialisation. Confident people can afford to be relaxed and cooperative in their dealings with others. But such confidence can only be learnt from association with others, and must be based on a secure relationship within the home.

(i) Playing with others

Playing with others is the natural field of social interaction for the small child, where he can test out his assumptions about the world, and begin to form a working theory of his own personality. Children who don't have this opportunity, for whatever reason, are liable to create their own imaginary world, which can delay or even prevent their integration into the real one. Through playing, the normal child has a rich field for acquiring social and practical skills, and for learning his own role in society. Here, there was an interesting difference between the groups. A small but noticeable difference in

the number of children who enjoyed playing with their peers showed up, in favour of the non-nanny group, and this increased in significance between stage 1 and stage 2. This might cautiously be taken to indicate a greater degree of social integration among children reared by their own families ($\chi^2 = 7.70$).

(ii) Quarrelling with other children

On the other hand, the result in this area is confusing. At stage 1, twice as many *non-nanny* children were quarrelsome as nanny-reared ones, although the totals in either case were fairly small. But allowing for difference in interpretation of the question, ('Yes', and 'To some extent' in this area might well overlap), and since the percentage who were *not* quarrelsome in both groups was virtually identical, it may reasonably be assumed that no real difference exists. At stage 2, however, a clear difference is discernible in both the 'Yes' and 'No' answers in favour of the non-nanny group. This again would seem to suggest very marginally better integration rates among those without nannies ($\chi^2 = 5.84$).

(iii) Attention-seeking

Overall, the percentage of attention-seekers was about the same in both groups, although it was perhaps more marked among the younger children in the non-nanny group ($\chi^2 = 3.53$).

(iv) Being domineering

Being 'bossy' didn't seem to be a problem in either group, at either stage. At both stages there was a slight margin in favour of the nanny-employed group. At stage 1, 77% of nanny-employed children were non-assertive, as against 68% of the others; and at stage 2 the figures were 73% and 63% respectively. There is no significant difference in either case. On the other hand, the numbers of children at stage 1 who were positively identified as being domineering *did* show a noticeable bias *against* the non-nanny group, (14% of this group as against 8.6% of the other). The general position therefore seemed to be that non-nanny-reared children were marginally more gregarious but also slightly more assertive, especially at stage 1, than the other group ($\chi^2 = 2.70$).

Table 9.18 Social confidence

Social confidence (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Playing with others	76	19	5	—	88	10	2	—	64	11	6	—	94	5	1	—
Quarrelling	10	34	56	—	20	21	58	—	16	26	58	—	7	44	49	—
Attention-seeking	24	39	27	—	35	27	39	—	14	26	60	—	8	24	68	—
Being domineering	7	16	77	—	14	18	68	—	12	15	73	—	11	26	63	—

9.7.2 General Interaction with Other Children

Once the child is past the baby stage, a measure of his ego development is his successful interaction with his immediate society. This society includes the members of his family, his brothers and sisters, carers and teachers, neighbours and neighbours' children, and his peers at school. These will all gradually increase the scale of his interaction. The give-and-take of this experience helps the child to develop his personality. To measure the sample children's success in this area, the study investigated their degree of attachment to the various categories of children with whom they came in contact.

As might be expected, the order of attachment at stage 1 put brothers and sisters overwhelmingly first for both groups, followed by neighbours and then schoolmates. By stage 2, the figures were not *very* different, except that the nanny-employed group children showed an even greater dependence on home and neighbours, while the non-nanny group were manifesting a slight but unmistakable tendency to widen the scope of their attachments. This tendency is clearly growing at stage 2. While it would be foolish to claim that this is evidence for more successful socialisation on the part of the non-nanny-reared children, it remains a possibility.

Table 9.19 Attachment to other children

	Stage 1: 2-4 years						Stage 2: 4-6 years					
	Nanny			Non-nanny			Nanny			Non-nanny		
Degree of attachment	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Brothers/sisters	95	5	—	94	6	—	97	3	—	89	8	3
Neighbours	14	84	2	8	92	—	3	83	14	11	76	13
Schoolmates	—	20	80	14	—	86	—	35	65	6	39	55

9.7.3 The Developing Conscience

A number of questions (48-52) dealt with this aspect of development.

(i) Obedience/lack of obedience to instructions from elderly people

At stage 1, the non-nanny-employed group are more inclined to show respect to their elders than their counterparts (66% as opposed to 51.6%). At stage 2, however, the positions are reversed (59.3% as against 64.8%). It might be difficult to account for this were the differences not so small as to be statistically insignificant ($\chi^2 = 3.20$).

(ii) Distinguishing between right and wrong

Psycho-analytical theorists such as Freud and Erikson see the period between 2 and 6 as the stage where the 'id' — 'the basic storehouse of raw, uninhibited, instinctual energy' as Bee describes it (*The Developing Child, p.335*) — gradually cedes energy to the 'ego' and then the 'superego'. (Ibid.) 'In Freud's terms, the ego is the planning, organising, thinking part of the personality', as Bee puts it; and finally the superego is roughly the same as what we call the conscience. This is the part of the personality that 'monitors' the rest, that decides what is right and wrong, that channels the basic energy into forms of gratification that are acceptable to parents and to society.' (Ibid.) Once the superego is well formed, it will be a kind of internal government for the child which will take care of the child's behaviour on behalf of the parents even when they are absent.

As one would expect, the study results confirm the development of the superego over the period under study. At the first stage, the percentage of children who understood the distinction between right and wrong was between 20% and 25% in both groups, whereas by the second stage this had increased to between 45% and 55%. As far as

differentiating between the groups is concerned, once again the results are not completely conclusive. At stage 1, there are actually more children in the non-nanny group who are unable to make the distinction than in the nanny-employed one. But by stage 2, while the number of those unable to distinguish is virtually identical in each group, the number who can *confidently* tell right from wrong is noticeably higher in the non-nanny group ($\chi^2 = 5.83$).

(iii) Recognising what is/is not permissable

In this category, while no significant differences were recorded, though the trend was in favour of the nanny-employed group at both stages. This might faintly reinforce the idea that nannies are stricter disciplinarians than parents (9.6.3)($\chi^2 = 3.19$).

(iv) Behaving badly when away from home

This is a particularly good criterion for judging ego-development. Again there was no significant difference between the groups at either stage. In both cases, the ego and superego appeared well developed ($\chi^2 = 3.00$).

(v) Apologising after wrong-doing

This form of behaviour is a measure of fairly sophisticated social adaption. Again, the figures are inconclusive. At stage 1, more non-nanny children *always* apologise, but on the other hand, more *never* do so. At stage 2, the advantage is more clearly with the non-nanny group; more *do* apologise, fewer *don't*. But the margin in none of these instances is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 2.28$).

Table 9.20 Indicators of a developing conscience

Indicators of conscience (%)	Stage 1: 2-4 years								Stage 2: 4-6 years							
	Nanny				Non-nanny				Nanny				Non-nanny			
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Respect for elders	76	19	5	—	88	10	2	—	64	11	6	—	94	5	1	—
Knowledge of right and wrong	10	34	56	—	20	22	58	—	16	26	58	—	7	44	49	—
Knowledge of the rules	24	39	27	—	35	27	39	—	14	26	60	—	8	24	68	—
Good behaviour when unsupervised	7	16	77	—	14	18	68	—	12	15	73	—	11	26	63	—
Apology for bad behaviour	20	32	48	—	27	16	57	—	40	24	36	—	47	22	31	—

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	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know
Respect for elders	76	19	5	—	88	10	2	—	64	11	6	—	94	5	1	—
Knowledge of right and wrong	10	34	56	—	20	22	58	—	16	26	58	—	7	44	49	—
Knowledge of the rules	24	39	27	—	35	27	39	—	14	26	60	—	8	24	68	—
Good behaviour when unsupervised	7	16	77	—	14	18	68	—	12	15	73	—	11	26	63	—
Apology for bad behaviour	20	32	48	—	27	16	57	—	40	24	36	—	47	22	31	—

9.8 Summary of differences in development between the children in the nanny- and non-nanny-employing groups

From this fairly microscopic examination of family life in nanny-employing and non-nanny employing households in Oman, no earth-shaking discoveries have emerged. As has been seen in chapter 5, child-rearing practices among parents in both groups are very similar. The only real differences to emerge are in the areas of discipline and sex-discrimination; here, the families who do not employ nannies appeared to take what might well be a more fundamentalist approach, in that they punish their children more, and view the sexes in a more traditional way.

When one looks at the various stages of child development, however, as surveyed in this chapter; while there are no overwhelming distinctions; there is no doubt that the non-nanny employing families in the sample consistently have the advantage. Areas in which they are significantly ahead are in such aspects of cognitive development as memory and recall and size recognition; and in psychological and social development they are well ahead in readiness of speech, social interaction, independence and initiative — though with the attendant dangers of rebellion, aggressiveness and general self-assertion. In other areas, such as the development of conscience, they are much less clearly distinguished; nevertheless, throughout the range of experience covered by the study, where faint distinctions do exist, they are beyond coincidence in favour of the non-nanny-reared group.

Particularly in the area of *language,* the children of the nanny-employing group seemed to be at a disadvantage; the sizeable proportion of these whose formative linguistic experience derived from foreign nannies clearly suffered socially and might be expected to suffer educationally as well.

It will be clear from the figures in Table 9.22 that the children without nannies gain from the comparison with their opposite numbers. Apart form a less acute awareness of the dangers of playing with fire, a tendency towards aggressiveness and disobedience, and a preference for a more liberal environment, these children scored, frequently

statistically significantly, in a wide range of areas over their nanny-reared contemporaries. They had better memories, better physical coordination, stronger reasoning power and quicker size-recognition than the others; they spoke and responded more readily, their vocabulary and handling of language was more sophisticated; they were less afraid of the dark, less shy, less resentful of correction, and *much more* independent and socially confident, they even had a more developed conscience, than those with nannies (Tables 9.2-9.10; & 9.14-9.21). In addition, they did not suffer from the linguistic handicaps incurred by the nanny-reared children. These were considerable. Two thirds of the children at stage 1 spoke to the nanny in either pidgin Arabic or a version of the nanny's own language, and half still did so at stage 2 (Table 9.11). More than half at both stages had acquired the nanny's accent, and more than a quarter, again at both stages, regularly used her vocabulary (Table 9.12). For many children this meant discrimination against them by their peers, especially at school (Table 9.13). While the research did not follow these children into the later stages of their school careers, it seems a reasonable assumption that their early experience of language would retard their educational process.

Table 9.21 Summary of differences in development between the children in the nanny- and non-nanny employing groups

Area	Sub-area	Item tested	Stage 1: 2-4 years		Stage 2: 4-6 years	
			Nanny group excels	Non-nanny group excels	Nanny group excels	Non-nanny group excels
Cognitive development	Memory & recall	1	—	+	—	χ^{2*}
		2	—	+	—	+
		3	—	χ^{2*}	—	χ^{2**}
	Size recognition		—	χ^{2*}	—	+
	Reasoning & coordination		—	+	—	+
	Cause & effect		+	—	+	—
	Speech	1	—	+	—	+
		2	—	+	—	+
Linguistic development	Vocabulary		—	+	—	+
	Grammatical usage		—	+	—	+
Psychological development	Childhood fears	1	—	+	—	χ^{2*}
		2	χ^{2*}	—	+	—
	Anxiety, depression and shyness	1	—	+	+	—
		2	+	—	—	—
		3	—	+	—	+
	Attitudes to discipline	1	χ^{2*}	—	χ^{2*}	—
		2	χ^{2*}	—	+	—
		3	χ^{2*}	—	+	—
		4	—	χ^{2*}	—	+
	Independence	1	—	χ^{2**}	—	+
		2	—	—	—	χ^{2*}
		3	—	χ^{2**}	—	χ^{2*}
		4	—	χ^{2**}	—	χ^{2**}
		5	—	χ^{2**}	—	χ^{2**}
		6	—	+	—	—
Social development	Social confidence	1	—	χ^{2*}	—	χ^{2*}
		2	+	χ^{2*}	—	χ^{2*}
		3	χ^{2*}	—	—	+
		4	—	+	—	—
	Conscience	1	—	χ^{2*}	—	χ^{2**}
		2	—	+	—	—
		3	—	—	+	—
		4	—	+	—	+
		5	—	—	—	+

Key: (i) statistically significant differences are denoted by 'χ^2' or 'χ^{2*}' according to the degree of significance;
(ii) non-statistically significant trends are denoted by '+'
(iii) for details of items tested, see Tables 9.2-9.10, & 9.14-9.21

CHAPTER X: Summary and discussion of results

10.1 Introduction

10.2 The circumstances of the families in the sample

10.3 Motivation for employing a nanny

10.4 How the nannies were employed

10.5 The circumstances and backgrounds of the nannies in the sample

10.6 The effects of the nannies on the children in the sample

10.7 Discussion

10.1 Introduction

Chapter I of this thesis provided the context for this study of the effect of foreign nannies in Oman, by reviewing the particular situation of the Arabian Gulf region in the historical process of *modernisation* which has affected most of the developed and developing world. The Gulf States, and Oman in particular, occupy a unique place in the spectrum of development, in that the sudden and unexpected acquisition of oil wealth has catapulted them with frightening speed into the front line of technical and social revolution. Chapter I looked especially at the social consequences of this process: to the family, and to the Islamic way of life. What it saw was not altogether reassuring; both the family and the Islamic social system were coming under threat. Part of this threat appeared to arise from the arrival on the scene of increasing numbers of foreign nannies; in Oman as in the rest of the Gulf States.

In chapter II the economic and social changes which have given rise to the recent increase in the employment of nannies in Oman were outlined. Attention was drawn to the diminishing influence of Islamic religious and cultural traditions on the Omani population, in part through the erosion by the State of traditional Omani family responsibility for the upbringing of their children (see 2.1.2). Chapter II also considered the possibility that the increasing employment of largely foreign nannies might be a contributory factor to such erosion, in that they might usurp the mother's role in socialisation. Further, by imprinting their alien cultural values on their charges, they might pose an added threat to Islamc tradition. An hypothesis along these lines was proposed, (2.3), to be tested by the research.

Since the process of socialisation was central to the whole thesis, some theories of socialisation were discussed in chapter III, with a view to establishing the possible parameters of the nanny's influence, whether for good or ill. The concept of socialisation adopted by this researcher was broadly that of Albert Bandura (1972), i.e.

one which, while recognising the universal psychological and individual genetic inputs into child development, followed the learning theorists in believing that 'except for elementary reflexes, people are not equipped with inborn repertories of behaviour; they must learn them.' (Bandura 1977 p.16) The natural environment for such learning is of course the family, and chapter III discussed the vital role of the family, and especially of the Islamic family, and its members, in the socialisation process. The general consensus among social scientists as to the importance in socialisation of early *bonding* (3.6) and of *role-modelling* (3.7) was particularly stressed. At this stage, some preliminary conclusions were reached; that early attachments are important, wherever the focus of the attachment may be; that the nature of these attachments will determine the style of the child's socialisation, and that while the mother is the most natural focus for the child's first attachment, she is not *exclusively* so. The implications of this for the research are that nannies themselves are not necessarily harmful; that much depends on the degree and focus of the child's first attachment, and that if the primary attachment is to the nanny, then she will, through modelling, determine the nature of the child's socialisation. For this reason, it was thought essential to examine (a) the attachment patterns of children with nannies in Oman; and (b) the type of model generally offered by the nanny. The chapter ended with a discussion of the cultural dimension of socialisation, and in particular of the vital part played by *language* and *family discipline* in the transmission of cultural heritage.

All these aspects of socialisation are addressed in the practical design of the research; they also underlay the hypothesis put forward in chapter II and restated in chapter IV, namely that:

nannies have an intellectually retarding and culturally alienating effect on the children in their care; and that they impair the successful socialisation, and in particular the psychological, linguistic and cultural harmonisation of the children in Omani society.

Chapter IV set out the specific means by which the hypothesis was to be tested, and gave the theoretical grounds on which the choice of methodology was based. The investigation was to be conducted by means of a field study, of two groups of 80 families in very similar circumstances, comparable in a wide range of factors (economic, social, educational and geographic), one of which employed foreign nannies, while the other did not.

Its aims were:
- to establish the circumstances of the families in the sample;
- to investigate the motives for nanny-employment
- to discover how the nannies were in fact employed
- to investigate the nannies' background
- to establish the effects of nanny-rearing on the children in their charge.

Questionnaires were issued to the families in the sample covering all these areas of the investigation, and chapters V to IX presented the results.

10.2.1 The circumstances of the families in the sample

As the two family groups had been carefully chosen so that their circumstances should be comparable in the most important areas, economic, social and educational, the study was concerned to ascertain whether any of these were predisposed to nanny-employment. The research found few differences between the groups. Most families were of the nuclear type, family sizes were roughly similar, income ranges were almost identical. In almost all families the parents were monogamous. Educationally there was nothing to choose. There was a slight tendency for the non-nanny-employing families to be younger than the other group, and to live in flats rather than detached houses, but not a lot can be made of that. Rather more of the nanny-employing families than of the other group were employed in the private sector — significantly more of the wives. It seems therefore that parents, particularly wives, who work in the private sector may be more inclined to employ nannies than their counterparts in the other group; perhaps because work in this sector requires longer working hours outside the home than does civil

service employment. But the only really significant difference was in the area of language: those families who use Arabic to communicate with their children were significantly more likely *not* to employ nannies than those who communicated in other languages. Since language is such an integral part of socialisation, and so vital in promoting its cultural aspect, it does seem probable that Arabic speaking families are more concerned than others about preserving Islamic culture.

10.2.2 The child-rearing practices of the families in the sample

When the groups were compared on the basis of their child-rearing practices, again there were few differences, except in the areas of discipline, and attitude to boys and girls. Those families which did *not* employ nannies were significantly more likely to punish their children for bad behaviour (Table 5.19), and specifically more likely to use corporal punishment (Table 5.22), than their opposite numbers; they were also more likely to distinguish in treatment between their sons and daughters (Table 5.23). Preferential treatment for male children is a traditional Omani practice, stemming from the exigencies of a poverty-stricken tribal or even nomadic economy where every male addition to the labour force was useful but every girl was only an extra mouth to feed. Adherence to it is more a question of tribal habit than Islamic principle, but like many religious practices which have their origins in everyday necessity, it has become a ritual observance.

A possible interpretation of these differences is that the non-nanny-employing families seemed on the whole to be closer to Islamic tradition in terms of child-rearing practices than those in the nanny-employing group. While these were the only areas where a statistically significant difference emerged between the groups, there was a just discernible tendency among the non-nanny-employing families to take a more positive attitude towards the upbringing of their children. In five aspects of child-rearing practice, the groups were indistinguishable; but in the remaining seven areas examined,

the non-nanny-employing group were more positive in five, (including the three already mentioned) as against the nanny-employing group's two. Neither group was good at implementing the orders they gave their children, and neither group *admitted* at least to quarrelling in front of their children, or rebuking them in public, or making them promises they did not keep, or telling them lies (Tables 5.20, 5.24, 5.25, 5.26, 5.27). There was a slight balance in favour of the nanny-employing families in the consistency of their orders to their children (Table 5.17), and in their readiness to reward them for good behaviour (Table 5.18). But when it came to things like encouragement in self-expression (Table 5.16), or firmness in dealing with children's demands (Table 5.21), the balance was in favour of the non-nanny-employing families. Although the differences here were too small to be statistically significant, when they are taken together with the non-nanny-employing families' stricter practices mentioned above, the cumulative effect is suggestive; it begins to look as if the non-nanny-employing group might be marginally more likely to be concerned about the way their children are brought up.

10.3 Motivation for employing a nanny

When the motivation for employing a nanny was examined (chapter VIII), the only parents who appeared to have considered reasons other than domestic convenience in deciding whether or not to employ a nanny, came from the non-nanny-employing group. 60% of families in the non-nanny-employing group said they would not even consider employing a nanny, and gave as their most important reason (apart from not *needing* one) their fear of her influence on the children. The same group also cited the potential problems that could arise in the home, and the diminution in the mother's role that employment of a nanny would bring (Table 8.9). Otherwise, among nanny-employing and non-nanny-employing groups alike, nannies were principally regarded as servants and child-minders, to be employed for reasons of domestic convenience or social prestige rather than of educational concern. This suggests that *nobody* thought of the

nanny as even potentially a good socialiser, and that only the non-nanny-employing families (and not all of *them*) were at all concerned about it.

10.4 How the nannies were employed

Threequarters of their employers expected their nannies to be domestic servants as well as nannies, and a further 9% thought of them as *purely* servants (Table 7.2.1). It is fairly clear from these figures that for these families (as for those among the non-nanny-employing group who were prepared to contemplate nanny-employment, Table 8.10), a 'nanny' was simply a child-minder; someone to undertake the labour of attending to children's physical needs and of providing supervision of their safety. On the other hand, as was pointed out in chapter VII, 'a child who is fed, washed, dressed and played with by his nanny is effectively socialised by her in all important respects'. So whether their employers intended it or not, the nannies hired by them as simple domestics had become at the very least a major factor in the socialisation of their children.

This same part of the research indicated the generally successful bonding between the children and their nannies (Table 7.12), which makes the nannies' role in socialisation all the more siginificant. It does indeed seem likely that the answer to the question posed in chapter I — to what extent does the nanny in fact usurp the mother's role in socialisation? — is: 'to a very large extent.'

10.5 The circumstances and backgrounds of the nannies in the sample

The picture of the nannies which emerged in chapter VI confirmed the view (10.4) of their low-status role. Table 6.5 shows that 69% of the nannies thought of themselves as housemaids as much as nannies, and a further 9% as housemaids only. The same table shows that they are paid at a level (50-80 O.R. a month) consonant with their status as housemaids. Their husbands too are of low social status (Table 6.10); and their origins are largely rural/agricultural or urban working-class (Table 6.11). Their cultural

backgrounds are fairly primitive. Their level of education, even in their own cultures, is minimal (Table 6.6). Worse than this, though, is the fact that, unlike the slaves whose place they have filled, or the English working-class nannies of the Victorian or Edwardian eras, they have clearly not identified with the society and culture of their employers; their husbands and children for the most part remain in their countries of origin (Tables 6.8 and 6.9); only a third of them are Muslims (Table 6.2), and virtually none speak (much less read or write) Arabic with any fluency (Tables 6.2, 6.7). All this suggests neither the interest nor the ability to convey to Omani children anything of Omani culture and tradition.

Even on wider socialisation criteria, the nannies' own child-rearing practices were fairly lax (Table 6.13); and in particular they showed only a halfhearted inclination to observe orthodox Muslim codes regarding food, drink and tobacco (Table 6.15). There was a noticeable divergence between the fairly liberal principles of socialisation which they professed, and the responses of their children (Table 6.14). A similar divergence appeared between their claims to religious observance (84%, Table 6.19), and their actual attendance at specific ritual occasions (Table 6.17). It does not seem likely, therefore, that they have *any* strong ethical code to offer in place of the Omani one. Moreover, their primitive origins encourage a lowly view of their own status as females, which must limit their ability to take a professional attitude to their job.

10.6 The effects of nannies on the children in the sample

Differences between the nanny-reared and the non-nanny-reared children were detectable, in the vast majority of cases in favour of the latter. Not all of these differences were of a degree sufficient to be statistically significant; but the overall tendency was consistent.

In all four areas of development: cognitive, linguistic, psychological and social, the children brought up without nannies showed a trend to be developmentally more advanced (Table 9.21). Where direct comparison was not possible, i.e. in studying the language of

communication between the nannies and children, it was nevertheless clear that the children with nannies were disadvantaged; their early experience of language was frequently imperfect, and they often suffered socially from the effects of their inadequate linguistic role-models. Educationally likewise the conclusion seems inescapable that their progress must to some extent have been impaired.

As was pointed out in chapter IX, it is clear from the figures in Table 9.21 that the children without nannies gain from the comparison with their opposite numbers. Apart from a less acute awareness of the dangers of playing with fire, a tendency towards aggressiveness and disobedience, and a preference for a more liberal environment, these children scored, frequently statistically significantly, in a wide range of areas over their nanny-reared contemporaries. They had better memories, better physical coordination, stronger reasoning powers and quicker size-recognition than the others; they spoke and responded more readily, their vocabulary and handling of language was more sophisticated; they were less afraid of the dark, less shy, less resentful of correction, and *much* more independent and socially confident; they even had a more developed conscience, than those with nannies (Tables 9.2-9.10; & 9.14-9.20). In addition, they did not suffer from the linguistic handicaps incurred by the nanny-reared children. These were considerable. Two thirds of the children at stage 1 spoke to the nanny in either a pidgin Arabic or a version of the nanny's own language, and half still did so at stage 2 (Table 9.11). More than half at both stages had acquired the nanny's accent, and more than a quarter, again at both stages, regularly used her vocabulary (Table 9.12). For many children this meant discrimination against them by their peers, especially at school (Table 9.13). While the research did not follow these children into the later stages of their school careers, it seems a reasonable assumption that their early experience of language would retard their educational progress.

10.7 Discussion

Nannies in Oman are primarily domestic drudges, employed to do the housework, and to care for the children of the household on a purely physical and supervisory level. Nevertheless, about half the families in the sample who employed nannies allowed the nannies to take complete charge of their children, and a further 23% shared this responsibility. Yet another 40% of the families handed their children over to the nannies for the whole of their play time, while 25% gave nannies this responsibility at least part of the time. And about 50% of the sample entrusted the entire care of their children to the nannies at least for the complete baby stage. Overall, nannies have a significant influence on a large number of Oman's future population; and the nanny phenomenon has witnessed a huge increase in the last few years.

However, the motives of many of their employers are highly suspect. A common reason uncovered by the study for employing a nanny was that of social prestige. As many as 4% of the sample gave this as their *principal* reason (Table 8.1). According to reliable information available unofficially to the researcher, the financial status of the families in this part of the sample is low; their monthly income lies at the bottom of the lowest 30% of the sample, among the 5% who earn less than 400 O.R. a month — often as little as 100 or 120 (Table 5.5). Unpublished Government statistics supplied in a personal communication with the researcher reveal that mothers in these families are educationally impoverished and to a large degree illiterate; it is unlikely therefore that they are either alive to or concerned about the possible consequences to their children. This is one area where the study has recommendations to make for the future Government policy (see chapter XI). Among the majority of the sample, the commonest motive for nanny-employment is little better; domestic convenience usually overrides moral or educational considerations in making the decision, and large houses and lavish

entertaining — the trappings of consumerism — play their part in this.

The background of the nannies themselves is primitive and uneducated; their loyalties lie elsewhere, and their religious beliefs and practices are often lightly held, and in any case largely different from those of Oman. The majority are Asian, as are 90% of foreign criminals in the Sultanate, which, although few criminals are women, gives cause for concern at least as to their associates, and possibly also as to their own moral status. As socialisers of Omani children, they seem unsatisfactory on almost every ground; morally, linguistically, culturally and educationally they appear to lack any qualification for the important task so frequently delegated to them. Even their one apparent virtue — their ability to bond successfully with their charges — actually increases the threat they pose to Omani society, in that it allows them to usurp the role in socialisation that properly belongs to Omani mothers. Moreover, by further weakening the ethos of Islamic moral and social organisation, they threaten not only the secular but also the religious basis of the state.

Finally, their negative effects on the children in the sample, although not catastrophic, seem sufficient to sustain in a modified form the hypothesis which was to be tested, namely 'that nannies have *to some extent* an intellectually retarding and culturally alienating effect on the children in their care; that *to some extent* they impair the successful socialisation, and in particular the psychological, linguistic and cultural harmonisation of children in Omani society.'

CHAPTER XI: Recommendations for Child-Care Policy in Oman

11.1 Introduction

This study represents only the modest beginnings of sociological/educational research in Oman. It is limited, both in scale and methodology, by the non-availability of national statistics due to the embryonic state of Omani civil service institutions. Ideally, many of the findings of the study would be cross-checked by more rigorous means than those made possible by the questionnaire approach, with all its potential for cosmetic or otherwise disingenuous replies. But despite these inevitable limitations, and in opposition to the bias that might have been expected from the respondents to the questionnaires, the results of the study do in fact suggest the strong probability that the employment of foreign nannies has some harmful effects on Oman children. Such employment, as earlier chapters have tried to indicate, has been an unplanned and untutored response by individual families to exceptionally rapid social change, entirely natural in the circumstances. Social planning by the state is new in Oman. But unlike those nations which were first to experience modernisation, and which had to adapt their institutions by degrees to accommodate the new demands, the government of Oman has the inestimable advantage of starting from scratch, and with the results of decades of sociological research in these countries to help it set up its own social and educational institutions, not as carbon copies of those in other, ideologically different societies, but as genuine expressions of Islamic social planning. In view of the immense opportunities that this, together with Oman's new-found wealth, offers to this generation of Omani citizens, and in the light of the findings of this study, the writer would like to propose a number of modest first steps towards setting up an Omani state education and related welfare system for young children and new families in tune with the best of Islamic social and cultural ideals.

11.2 Social policy — an overview

'The establishment of the discipline of social policy (or 'social administration' as it was usually known until relatively recently) emerged from the politics of collectivism and the practice of state intervention to deal with social problems in the beginnings of the twentieth century.'

(Fiona Williams, *Social Policy: A Critical Introduction*; Polity Press 1989, p.4). Williams was writing about Britain, which having been the first to experience the social trauma of the Industrial Revolution, was the first to develop collective strategies to deal with social problems. State intervention in the Gulf region is a much more recent phenomenon, and social policy there is as yet in its infancy. One advantage of being relatively late in the field, however, is the opportunity to learn from the experience of others. Cross-national approaches to research in this field and indeed in all areas of child-sociology are just beginning to become common, and they have much to teach the newly developing countries about how they should proceed. One important conclusion reached by a number of sociologists engaged in cross-national comparisons (Sara Harkness, 1992) is that 'societal factors such as ideology and labour markets influence social policy' (Melhuish & Moss, 1990 *Daycare for young children*, p.199). They make the point particularly in connection with daycare policy, and quote Andersson (1988, pp.27-28): 'When talking about daycare it is important to apply an ecological perspective and consider the whole culture and cultural values which influence a country's daycare situation.' It is this recognition of the relationship between ideology and social policy which is relatively new. Two recent contributions, based mainly on British experience but singling out underlying ideological differences in policy approaches, are examples of the new awareness. Fiona Williams in chapter 2 of *Social Policy* outlines some existing theoretical bases of welfare policy (Marxist, Fabian, anti-collectivist, feminist etc.), and the limitations imposed by the various (in her view) somewhat inadequate assumptions that they make. Lorraine Fox Harding in *Perspectives in Child Care Policy* (Longman, 1991) makes a much longer and more thoughtful analysis of four major ideological tendencies in child welfare policy the basis of her book, and relates each perspective to 'examples of law, policy and practice in particular times and places.' (Ibid. p.10) She finds four categories of approach:

(i) Laissez-faire and patriarchy — 'essentially the position that power in the family

should not be disturbed except in very extreme circumstances, and the role of the state should be a minimal one.'

(ii) State paternalism and child protection, where 'extensive state intervention to protect children is legitimated, but state intervention itself may be authoritarian and biological family bonds undervalued.'

(iii) Defence of the birth family and parents' rights — 'to be distinguished from *laissez-faire* in that state intervention is legitimated, but this intervention is seen as ideally of a supportive kind, helping to defend and preserve birth families.'

(iv) Children's rights and child liberation, which 'advocates the child as a subject, as an independent person with rights which, in the extreme form of the position, are similar to the rights of an adult.'

These approaches to child welfare policy reflect the wide range of approaches to social policy as a whole; from minimum state intervention to state paternalism or even authoritarianism; in Williams' phrase 'a continuum which moves, politically speaking, from the right through to the left . . . What appears to be the logic of this continuum is the extent of support each perspective exhibits for a collective commitment, via the state, for welfare provision . . . Alternatively, it could be said that the anti-collectivist end represents a market-based society and the continuum works along to a needs-based society at the other end.' (Op. cit. p.19) Williams is the first to point out, however, that such a purely political classification of social policy omits other, equally important but less obviously political perspectives. In her case, this means the viewpoint of underprivileged groups such as women and blacks, a perspective which she pursues somewhat obsessively. But clearly, as Sara Harkness (1992) points out in a discussion on Mayan sleeping arrangments as compared with American ones, different cultural assumptions lead to different social practices.

> The Mayan response of shocked disapproval of American sleep practices . . . provides an entry to their further thinking about why their own custom of co-sleeping is important for the child's psychological development . . . Morelli et al (*authors of the research she is discussing*) speculate that Mayan parents may favour co-sleeping as a way of protecting infants in a culture of high early mortality, but the Mayan emphasis on socialisation of infants into the group as contrasted to the American parents' emphasis on training for independence suggests that, *at the very least, there are immediate parental values and goals related to psychological concerns rather than survival concerns that support these customs.*

Such cultural influences are no less true of social policy. Religious and cultural assumptions, as well as political or philosophical ones, can influence welfare arrangements; and this seems likely to be true of any Islamic state.

11.3 Social policy in the Gulf

Reference has already been made to the importance placed on family responsibility for welfare in Islamic culture, and to this extent one might expect an anti-collectivist bias in Islamic social policy. But such has been the speed of social change in the Gulf, and so rapid the break-up of traditional welfare arrangements, that considerable state intervention has been necessary for simple humanitarian reasons. Likewise in the field of education, which has particular bearing on child-care, there are simply no precedents for family behaviour, in a situation where the whole nature and content of education requires to be totally new and unfamiliar. The State of necessity must intervene.

State intervention in the Gulf is new, and has therefore no local precedents to follow. Under the Sultan Said bin Tamur, deposed as recently as 1970, Oman had followed a completely isolationist policy, as a result of which 'the country lacked vital utilities and basic facilities

such as health care, communication systems, schools, technical institutes, universities etc. . . . The Sultanate was, in a word, one of the most reactionary and primitive regimes in the world.' (see Chapter I) His successor, Sultan Qaboos bin Said, has set out to remedy this situation, and has formed a government which has been rapidly modernising the country by means of a set of five-year plans; it has begun to provide basic modern amenities for the Omani people for the first time. But 22 years is a very short time in which to create a modern state, and much still remains to be done. All the apparatus of a modern welfare state has to be constructed without the benefit of any local model.

Some help is available however from Islamic social scientists such as S. A. Nasur, M. A. Choudry, M. Muslehuddin, M. A. Zarqua, A. Azim, et al., and O. Llewellyn, University of Pennsylvania, for example, who have attempted to formulate a specifically Islamic approach to various aspects of social policy. The general principles of such an approach are well set out by M. A. Choudry in a useful handbook entitled *An Islamic social welfare function* 1980. In a brief introductory review of Western economic science, noting its preoccupation with establishing a general equilibrium framework for economics parallelling that of the physical sciences, he claims that

> 'with this trend towards rigorous consistency and mathematisation of economics, the discipline (has) gradually removed itself from the central study of the wants and needs of the human being as a complete and balanced denizen of this planet earth; one who lives not by bread alone, but demands social justice, has ethical, moral, religious and aesthetic values.'
>
> 'Western economists . . . have concerned themselves only with the view of man as *homo economicus* . . . Anything that was beyond empirical analysis was excluded . . . Anything that impinged upon the development of economic science through the value judgements of economists was to be considered outside the bounds of economic theory.' (Ibid. pp.iii-iv)

In contra-distinction to this view of economics, Choudry proposes the following:

> In order to establish a more complete concept and definition of economic theory, man must be re-introduced to the nucleus of this discipline, not as a *homo economicus*, but as a balanced citizen of the planet earth, whose wants and transactions are determined not solely in terms of goods and quantifiable services. Man's needs are more transcendental in nature, comprising his ethical, ideological, moral and impersonal values and satisfactions. The sum total of these needs indispensably shape social order and must therefore be included in a broader definition of economic theory.'

This interconnection of the real and the transcendental is of course the central characteristic of the Islamic religion, and is enshrined in the *Shariah*, the guiding regulations of Islam that address these different dimensions of human life. The Islamic approach to the social sciences is governed by this principle. On the other hand, 'every purely religious or ethical principle of Islam has an observable and quantifiable economic benefit. Taken in this light, the economic analysis of Islam, while being an integrated system in value analysis, does not leave actions based on tenets of pure belief to be rewarded in the hereafter alone.' (Ibid. p.vi) Examples of Islamic virtues that are *not* their own reward are the paying of religious taxes, which brings rewards in the form of increased national prosperity and social wellbeing; and *La Israf*, avoidance of prodigality in consumption, which increases national investment and stabilises prices. 'Thus, in the Islamic framework, the ideas of the 'total' good, and the total use of resources towards the achievement of that good, replace the limited ideas of costs and benefits in secular economic analysis.' (Ibid. p.13)

Applied to social welfare policy, such a basis for economic analysis should produce the following effect: any financial investment in social welfare will produce both *financial* returns in the form of better educated/healthier/happier and therefore more *productive* citizens; and

social or *moral* returns in the form of said knowledge/health/happiness — a circular process of interacting economic and social returns which should motivate members of an Islamic society to work for the realisation of the Islamic social and religious goals.

11.4 Child-care policy

Cross-national studies of child-care policies in recent years have yielded some fascinating results. The Melhuish & Moss study (1990) already referred to covered non-parental child-care policies in five countries: Britain, the US, Sweden, France and what was, at the time of writing (the research began in 1989), still the GDR; using the techniques of ideological analysis referred to earlier. The aim of the research was 'to explore the relationship *between the social context* and children's non-parental care-giving environments; and between these environments and children's experience and development'. The book itself accords each country two chapters: one detailing 'the employment entitlements available to parents with young children (such as maternal and parental leave) . . . and the current system of non-parental care for children under 3'; showing how 'social context, and in particular government policy, affects the environments in which young children are cared for'; and the second providing 'an overview of research on non-parental care' with detailed reporting of two main types of research: on the differences *between* and *within* types of non-parental care. (Op. cit. p.8) The conclusions are deeply interesting and extremely relevant to countries such as Oman which are currently developing child-care policies for the first time.

Briefly, these conclusions were as follows.

(i) In the UK (and the US), daycare (i.e. non-parental care) was 'diverse in type and variable in quality, largely dependent on private arrangements, with little input from public resources.' Sweden and East Germany 'are at the other extreme, with major involvement by government, though that involvement takes significantly different forms.' 'France is in between, though nearer to Sweden and East Germany than to the US and UK.'

(ii) In Britain, and to a lesser extent in the US, such public daycare as there is, tends to be channelled to deprived children, often either disturbed or handicapped. In the other countries, especially Sweden and the GDR, public nursery education is intended for, and used by, the vast majority of families.

(iii) Whereas in Britain and the US, daycare means simply that, in Sweden and even more in East Germany, daycare tends to mean *education*; with particular emphasis on stimulation of children and responsive interaction between child and care-giver.

(iv) Where, as in the UK, types of daycare, and standards within each type, vary widely, the type and quality of care, independently of social class, had a clearly identifiable effect on children's development, both linguistic and socio-emotional. Where, on the other hand, as in Sweden and the GDR, non-parental care was both widespread and of a uniform and fairly high standard, the home environment, and *not* the daycare one, was the determining factor.

(v) In Sweden and East Germany, 'childcare is viewed as a social issue and responsibility, to which society should contribute.' (Ibid. p.203) Consequently, these countries 'set national targets . . . and ensure funding is available for these targets to be achieved.' (Ibid.) In these countries too, 'within type' differences in care provision 'are tackled positively to produce uniformly high quality . . . The fact that such differences can be tackled, and are not just inherent features, *emphasises the significance of social context in creating particular daycare environments and establishing the quality of those environments*.' (Ibid. p.202)

In Britain and the USA, by contrast, 'in the private market, the only mechanism available to foster the development of good quality day care is parental choice.' (Ibid. p.203) The writers do not pursue this point, but from their earlier comments on the variable quality of British and American day care provision, it can be inferred that they do not consider market forces in this field to be reliable purveyors of excellence.

This kind of cross-national survey is highly illuminating, and puts sharply into perspective the sometimes haphazard approaches in the more developed nations to questions of social policy. Obviously there is much to be said for clearly thought out responses to issues as important as child welfare. Admittedly, in the highly organised approaches of the former GDR, there arises the spectre of indoctrination. But with the equally well organised yet totally liberal arrangements of Sweden there can be no such misgivings. Yet 'in both the UK and USA, children and their care are assumed to be private issues; public intervention in the provision or subsidising of the services requires a powerful justification, and is limited very largely to families who are poor, inadequate or deviant.' (Ibid. p.203) In this situation, what approach is appropriate for a country like Oman?

11.5 Child-care policy in Oman

Omani child-care policy at present, like that of France, falls somewhere between the two extremes; perhaps closer to that of Britain and the United States than to that of Sweden and the GDR, though for very different reasons. In this field, three conflicting influences are at work in Oman. First there is the traditional Islamic respect for the primacy of the family in all welfare matters, and particularly in the socialisation of children. Next there is the urgent necessity for the developing modern state to maximise its trained workforce, including its women. Finally there is the instinct of all Islamic states to uphold the Sharia — to invest both materially and socially in a pious and prosperous Islamic society. The first means minimum interference — as in Britain, but for rather different reasons — in child socialisation. The second necessitates provision of daycare for children whose mothers are at work. The third encourages investment in social education and improvement. The first and second together have led to state acceptance of the nanny phenomenon, while the second and third have prompted the state to invest increasingly heavily in nursery and primary education, but in quantity rather than quality. Thus there is little incentive to parents, themselves unsophisticated

and inexperienced in reflecting on social and educational matters, to upgrade their notions of child-care from the level of simple convenience.

In this situation, there are valuable lessons to be learned from the Moss & Melhuish research. Pre-eminently in an Islamic state, childcare should be 'viewed as a social issue and responsibility, to which society should contribute.' (Moss & Melhuish, p.203) If, as a result of unavoidable social change, 'society' in Oman has come to mean the State, rather than the village, the tribe or the extended family, then the State must of necessity undertake this responsibility. The third influence, the Sharia, must prevail. The accompanying *immediate* economic benefit, (the urgently required increase in the trained workforce), together with the long-term economic and social benefits, are exactly in accordance with Islamic social theory as outlined according to Choudhury in Chapter 2. Next, freely available, uniformly high quality childcare, as well as having a clearly identifiable effect on children's development, both linguistic and socio-emotional, (as indicated in the writer's summary of the Moss & Melhuish study on p.10 of this chapter), has the effect of reducing the possible detrimental variables on children's development to that of the home environment alone (Ibid.) — a variable which cannot be eliminated, but which, if unfavourable, can certainly be ameliorated by good childcare outside the family. Finally, the fact that 'within-type' differences in care provision can be 'tackled positively to produce uniformly high quality . . . and are not just inherent features (of the provision), emphasises the significance of social context in creating particular daycare environments and establishing (their) quality.' This last point is an encouraging example to Omani social and educational administrators, in setting up their childcare systems, of how 'setting targets' and 'ensuring funding is available for these targets to be achieved' (Ibid.) can produce satisfying results in an Islamic social context. The childcare arrangements of Sweden in particular should prove a fruitful field of study for Omani (as well as British) social and educational research.

11.6 Recommendations for future Omani child-care policy

11.6.1 Regulation of non-state-employed nannies

As the results in Chapter VI indicate, the vast majority of nannies in Oman (98%) are of Asian origin, (Table 6.1), mainly from poor third world countries, and from fairly primitive backgrounds (Table 6.11). Culturally, they are alien to their host country. Some are Muslims (33%), but the remainder are not; 8% have no religion of any sort. (Table 6.2) Most *claim* to observe the practices of their religions (6.12), but few seem actually to do so. (Table 6.19) Several of their common behavioural patterns, such as the acceptance of mendicancy, the culture of the vendetta, the tolerance of cursing, and the use of alcohol and tobacco, are anathema to an Islamic society. Their view of the relationship between husband and wife differs widely from the Islamic one: where Islam enjoins mutal respect on marriage partners, and emphasises particularly the importance and authority of the wife in all domestic matters, especially concerning the children, many Asian nannies come from backgrounds where it is common for the husband to insult or even beat his wife, even in front of the children. A frequent means of discipline among Asian nannies involves the encouragment of superstition; fear of darkness, or of ghosts, is used as a threat in order to instil obedience. Educationally, these women are overwhelmingly (82%) of low standard (Table 6.6), frequently illiterate (20%) even in their own language (Table 6.6), and uniformly ignorant of Arabic — largely so in speech, and totally so in reading and writing (Table 6.7). As a result, the first experience of language for many nanny-reared children is that of the nanny, rather than their own. In a country which is struggling, among a proliferation of demotic languages, to establish Arabic as the *lingua franca*, the added complication of 'nanny-speak' is simply the last straw.

Against a background of so many deficiences, the sole reason for the employment of these women is one of economic supply and demand; they are cheap, plentiful and willing, and there is a demand for their services (Chapter VIII, passim) — a demand which commercial

agencies have been quick to supply. But an *exclusively* commercially motivated activity of this kind is not in accordance with Islamic social theory as set out in the introductory section of this chapter (11.2: 'Social policy in the Gulf'); financial returns are not sufficient on their own to justify a commercial undertaking, unless there are long-term *social* and *moral* benefits to be gained — something which is clearly not the case in this instance. Here, only *one* dimension of the Islamic economic ideal is being fulfilled. As Chapra (1979) puts it "The concept of welfare in Islam can be neither exclusively "other worldly" nor purely "this worldly". Islam warns Muslims against single-minded concentration on material acquisitions as the highest measure of human achievement and ignoring the indispensible spiritual content of the human self." (pp.7-8) It seems legitimate therefore for the State to intervene in a situation where a number of restrictions on the employment of these nannies is so urgently required. State intervention can take the form of mandatory qualification requirements, control of unskilled immigration, and provision of alternative, better-quality arrangements.

RECOMMENDATION 1: Definition of the 'Nanny' role and conditions of service

A much more stringent definition is required of the *duties* and *qualifications* of a nanny. At present, as the research has indicated, nannies are mainly employed (and paid) as housemaids, with care of the children being simply a subsidiary part (even if a large one) of their household duties. (Tables 6.5, 7.1, 7.3, 7.4) As a recent SCAFA (Scottish Child & Family Alliance) report points out:

> In our society childcare is normally equated with women's work. It is women's work because it is seen as a natural extension of the mothering role which is assumed to be instinctive — something that just comes to you when you give birth. The argument goes something like this: since mothering and childcare come naturally, it is not 'real' work, and there is no need to train people to do it. If there is no need for training, then there is no need for formal qualifications. The skills involved go largely

> unaccounted for and no progressive structure is developed which relates skills to promotion. *The result is low pay, low status, an underestimation of the skills and demands of working with young children, and, in some circumstances, low standards of care and scant regard for the educational component.*

Although these comments relate to the Scottish situation (now changing for the better), they apply with even more force to the Omani one. Here too the skills required in successful childcare are underestimated, and so there are 'low pay, low status . . . low standards of care and scant regard for the educational component.'

As the report further points out (p.2), childcare qualifications should be at least as much practical as theoretical; they should include basic healthcare and first aid, adequate nutritional and dietary knowledge and simple cooking skills, as well as elementary theoretical acquaintance with child developmental patterns and needs. General educational qualifications for entry to courses need not be advanced, but should be adequate to sustain the vital educational role of the nanny — the stimulation of the child in all fields of development through play, through storytelling, through drawing and painting and simple handicrafts, and above all through language. Training should encompass all these, and should emphasise their vital importance to successful development. The programme of short courses suggested by SCOTVEC (the Scottish Vocational Education Council) as a curriculum for a Scottish Nursery Nurses' certification course, and reproduced in Appendix 11, covers most of these requirements.

It does follow, however, that the one essential pre-entry qualification to courses, in the Omani context, must be the ability to speak fluent Arabic, and to read and write it at least to a level of basic competence. This requirement in itself would impose an automatic restriction on the numbers of non-Omani candidates for training.

The writer recommends therefore

(a) that nannies should be required to have minumum educational and teaching

qualifications, and a clear distinction should be drawn both in salaries and conditions of employment between nannies proper and domestic workers; and

(b) that minimum salary levels and maximum hours of work should be statutorily laid down, together with a formal and compulsory reporting system for both employer and employee at the end of each period of employment.

In addition, both sides should have a statutory right to complain, and a statutory body (such as an employment tribunal) to which complaints can be referred.

RECOMMENDATION 2: Immigration controls

Effective screening procedures should be put in place to cut down the numbers of inadequately qualified foreign nannies at present entering the country. Priority should be given to the training and placement of Arabic-speaking Muslim nannies in preference to those of other languages and cultures.

RECOMMENDATION 3: Regulation of employment agencies

The numerous employment agencies that have sprung up in response to the demand for cheap labour should be subject to stringent regulation, especially as regards verifying and being answerable for the qualifications and suitability for employment of the labour they supply. In particular they should be required to apply the new criteria suggested in 11.5.3 (i) for distinguishing between nannies and housemaids.

RECOMMENDATION 4: Use of the media to alert the public

Use should be made of the mass media to educate the public on the possible dangers, physical and cultural, of inadequate supervision for their young children, and to encourage them to differentiate clearly between people with genuine child-rearing skills and qualifications, and mere baby-minders.

11.6.2 Quality of child-care

The theoretical discussion on child socialisation in Chapter 3, and Melhuish & Moss in the work quoted in this chapter, emphasise very clearly 'how the quality of care can

affect children's development, wherever it occurs or whoever gives it.' (Op. cit. p.202)

Quality in childcare is a concept which, like many of those dealt with here, has come under close scrutiny in a recent study of pre-5 nursery provision in Strathclyde, Scotland (Wilkinson et al, 1993 — Flagships?).

This project (to monitor an innovative community nursery programme recently undertaken by Strathclyde Regional Council) was seen by the researchers as 'both an evaluation and a research study', in that not only were familiar evaluative techniques and procedures to be used to monitor progress, but also research was planned to form part of the overall strategy by exploring new areas of concern, for example, the impact of the new nurseries on family life' (op. cit. p.1). This makes the study's concerns a very close parallel to those of the present research. Four out of the six problems addressed in Strathclyde Region's pre-5 policy document (*Under Fives*, 1985) are central to the policy recommendations arising from this research, namely: the extent and quality of pre-school provision; its coordination, including partnership with the voluntary (in the case of Oman the *private*) sector; and the status of the provision (ie. local and national priority given to pre-school care in terms of funding, salary levels, training etc.). These, (as well as others such as staffing quality, and questions of the targeting provision, which are less relevant to the Omani situation) are outlined in Chapter one of the Strathclyde study.

Particularly relevant to the Omani situation is the section in the study devoted to 'the Quality Debate' (op. cit. 1993) (Chapter I: 1.3.3). The quality, as well as the quantity, of pre-school provision has been a central concern of those offering services to young children and their parents in Britain in recent years. The Rumbold Committee, appointed to 'consider the quality of educational experience offered to young children . . . considered the needs of young children (and) outlined a suitable curriculum and ways of implementing it. They also attended to the recording of children's progress, *and the need to review the . . . education, training and support available for adults working with pre-5's*' (Ibid. p.12). The last suggestion accords with several of the recommendations which

appear later in this section. The emphasis on the need for a *curriculum* (ie. not simply *physical* care), and on the education and training of adult carers, suggests that this researcher's concerns about untrained, uneducated Omani nannies are not without foundation.

Under this same heading of 'quality', the Glasgow researchers quote from a number of contributions to a National Children's Bureau seminar in 1990, which bear on the topic. The seminar addressed a number of quality issues in detail, such as the quality of relationships between adults and children; the quality of space, and the quality of learning experiences for the child. Various contributors emphasised the importance of trained personnel and a stimulating physical environment (Ghedini, 1990); together with high staff-child ratios (Calder, 1990). The study goes on to point out that McCartney showed, as early as 1984, that 'the responsiveness of caregivers was related to the cognitive and language development of children, with greater responsiveness correlating with increased development. (Ibid.) Social development likewise is shown to benefit from the quality of care offered. As Clarke Stewart (1991) put it, the indicators of quality that impinge on children's development are:

> a well-organised and stimulating physical environment; a responsive and trained caregiver; a balanced curriculum; relatively small groups of children, and relatively generous adult-child ratios. (Ibid. p.13)

Howes (1991) agrees, and adds that 'those caregivers with increased training in child development were . . . likely to be more responsive'. All this underlines the unsatisfactory nature of the situation in Oman shown up in this research, where untrained and uneducated caregivers bring up children with whom they can scarcely communicate, in the intervals of conducting a thousand and one other domestic tasks. The recommendations in this section therefore cover the issues of quality as well as quantity of provision; through expansion of the existing service, training of personnel, standardisation of qualifications, provision of stimulating environments, such as play areas, and a curriculum based both on knowledge of children's developmental needs and on a true Islamic cultural framework.

RECOMMENDATION 5: Expansion of pre-school day care

At present, while the government in Oman is pressing ahead with the provision of pre-school daycare with commendable speed, it is on a rather 'ad hoc' basis; there is a lack of clear and coherent policy-making behind it. So far, the policy is one of quantity rather than quality; staff are untrained, and the experience offered to the child is often sub-standard. In these circumstances, there is little incentive for the parents to send their children to such centres rather than employ a nanny, who can be financially justified by her dual role as domestic help as well as childminder.

In view of the increasing number of working mothers in Oman, and the increasing dependence of the new nuclear families on outside help with children, the present expansion of nursery and kindergarten education should continue, if possible at an increased rate, and with greater attention to quality of provision. The private sector should be encouraged to help fill the gaps in the existing provision, with suitable monitoring by the state.

RECOMMENDATION 6: Training programmes for day care personnel

The negative effects on children's cognitive, linguistic, psychological and social development of employing untrained and uneducated childcarers have been demonstrated in Chapter IX of this research. The positive effects of trained and responsive caregivers are everywhere emphasised by the researchers, referred to in the Strathclyde study quoted above, and by all those, such as Andersson in Sweden, who are at the forefront of enlightened childcare in Europe.

In view of this, an *even greater priority than increased provision should be better trained staff*. Priority must be given to a national training scheme for all nursery personnel, with a recognised national qualification. Courses could be set up and run by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour in Cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Youth. Such courses would be mandatory both for new entrants to nursery education, and for those already employed.

RECOMMENDATION 7: Content of courses

Training should encompass both theoretical and practical knowledge of *all* children's developmental needs, and should also be founded on the framework of Arabic/Islamic culture. The same holistic approach should inform the nursery curriculum. The need for a curriculum, even in the nursery, has been referred to briefly in connection with the Rumbold Report (11.5.2); but it is worthwhile here to support it in more detail. Wilkinson (1993) has this to say:

> The informality of the nursery must be preserved — it is just as important for children to develop socially, emotionally and physically as it is to understand the world. On the other hand, more structured learning will not necessarily generate more anxiety and tension in children as claimed by some. On the whole, our children both can and want to do more. It is our moral duty to provide children with environments that feed . . . (their) . . . avaricious curiosity.

One further point about the kind of curriculum envisaged in these recommendations. When Balageur et al. (*Quality in Services for Young Children*; EC, 1992) made the point that parents and professional caregivers may not necessarily agree on what is best for their children, he — and by implication Wilkinson et al. in their study quoted above — appear to suggest that 'just as important as the attitude and belief system of the parents is the professional perspective of the caregivers . . . in the nursery' (op. cit. p.14). This is an argument which will be short-circuited in these recommendations by the provision that the Omani parents, the Omani caregivers and the Omani curriculum will all be rooted in the Islamic moral and social system of beliefs — which is, after all, when faithfully administered, one of the most enlightened in the world.

RECOMMENDATION 8: Funding of educational and sociological research

Continual educational and sociological research will be needed (a) to provide the basis for course-content; (b) to train the course instructors, present and future; and (c) to provide the demographic data by which to monitor progress. This last function is essential to ensure the

kind of consistency and constant improvement in standards which distinguish the best European child-care provision discussed earlier in the chapter.

RECOMMENDATION 9: State regulation of private education

The state should begin regulation of private education in the Sultanate by stipulating staffing and equipment standards in all nursery and kindergarten classes in private schools.

At present, such schools are expensive, but often of poor quality; they appeal to the element of snobbery referred to in Chapter II (2.1.3 'Changes to the family' (iv)).

RECOMMENDATION 10: Provision of toys and play-areas

Since very young children acquire experience and understanding first through primary (and sensory) rather than symbolic sources, and confirm that experience through physical play followed by role play alone or with their peers, a great enlargement of their experience could be through the provision by the state of public gardens, playgrounds and miniature zoos throughout the country; not confined purely to large centres of population.

11.6.3 Adminstration of child-care arrangements

RECOMMENDATION 11: Coordination of responsibility for child-care

Present responsibility for child welfare is divided among a number of different authorities, such as the Ministries of Education, Health, Social Affairs, Information, Culture, etc. This frequently entails confusion and delay, not to mention duplication of effort and sometimes even conflicting courses of action. What is needed is a single umbrella authority, able to coordinate the work of other agencies, and to take a broad and integrated approach to child-care issues over the whole spectrum of childhood.

RECOMMENDATION 12: Arrangements for maternity leave

In Sweden in 1991, parental leave after childbirth was extended to 18 months. This leave may be taken at any time until the child is 8, all at once or in stages, and all or part of the

leave may be taken part-time. Lost earnings are almost fully made up. Alongside of these liberal arrangements are the excellent, state provided and state subsidised nurseries and day care institutions, for which Sweden is justly famous. (Melhuish & Moss, op. cit. p.206. More details of the Swedish arrangements, and their apparently fruitful results in child socialisation, are given in Andersson, 1992). These are policies that all Islamic states would do well to follow.

The Quran enjoins on all Islamic mothers the duty — or privilege — of suckling their children for 24 months; and this injunction is typical of the Islamic conjunction of virtue and reward. Not only does breast-feeding act as a natural contraceptive, but it hastens the contraction of the womb after giving birth and restores the woman's muscular tone. It strengthens the baby's resistance to disease, and in the longer term gives it the sense of security and confidence that comes from being nestled at the breast. J. G. Bremner (*Infancy;* Basil Blackwell 1988, p.173) endorses Bowlby's claim that the various forms of attachment behaviour that occur in infancy have the function of maintaining the proximity between infant and mother which was a necessity of survival in our primeval past. Even the physical location of the milk-producing organ in the human female seems to emphasise this security-giving proximity. No other animal (apart from the apes) requires to cradle its young quite so closely as the human; a fact which suggests that there is some special psychological as well as survival benefit in the process. Bowlby's suggestion, that such arrangements are merely an example of the failure of evolutionary mechanisms to keep up with changes in the recent history of mankind, does not really carry conviction; babies still need cuddling, even — perhaps especially — in the age of the microwave.

Breast-feeding has even been claimed by some researchers such as Lucas A., Morley R., Cole T. J., Lister G., Leeson-Payne C. (1992) pp.261-264 to produce earlier and superior cognitive and linguistic development. From the society's perspective, it produces a well socialised adult, loved and loving in his turn. The mother who is given time and leisure to look after her new baby in this way is likely to prove a calmer and more secure care-giver

than one who is either trying to combine two jobs or feeling resentful at her loss of earnings. As in the Swedish arrangements, more time for mothers to be with their newborn children could be achieved either by directly extending the period of fully paid maternity leave, and/or by giving her additional leave at half salary, or by reducing her working hours, or by any combination of some or all of these. A possible starting point might be to give working mothers of new babies maternity leave with full pay for the first 6 months, followed by leave on half pay for the subsequent 6 months. Thereafter her job would be kept open for a specified period without pay, to enable her to be with her child during the critical early years.

11.7 Recommendations for further study and/or research

The present study has certain limitations which make further research desirable.

(i) It is on a fairly small scale; necessitated at present by the difficulty in acquiring data in a fairly new civic body.

(ii) The questionnaire as a method of establishing accurate information is not ideal, though it was the only one readily available in the present situation. More sophisticated ways of supplementing (and perhaps modifying) information gained in this way (such as controlled experiments) should become accessible as Oman gains in experience of state administration. Further research might concentrate on two areas:

(i) The nannies themselves and the role they play in the Omani household.

It was often difficult by the questionnaire method alone to feel certain that the picture being given by the nannies of themselves and their child-rearing practices was an unbiased one; or that their employers' accounts of their motives in having a nanny were entirely truthful.

(ii) The effects of the nannies on the children's psychological, moral and linguistic development.

Here more extensive and varied methods of testing these effects in the future, and particularly a longitudinal study such as that done by Andersson on Swedish children at 8 and 13, might give a more dramatic result than that of the present study.

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV: Questionnaires

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V: χ^2 Tables

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI

- **Human Development: Birth to 8 years**
- **Language Development: Children 0-8 years**
- **Child Health**
- **Infant Feeding and Weaning**

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Appendix to Chapter I

IRAN ايران

المملكة العربية السعودية
KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

SCALE 1 3 000 000

Appendix to Chapter I

Total number of schools and students at all educational levels in the Sultanate (including Islamic and technical education i.e. "Agricultural, Commercial/Industrial") — June 1989.

Source: Statistical Year Book — Ts — Development Council, Muscat, 1989/90.

Distribution of general education students in government schools by gender & region (1989/90)

Area/Region	Males				Females				Total			
	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90
Muscat	27587	29362	31697	34241	24433	27031	29780	32399	52020	56393	61477	66640
Al-Janoubiya	11849	12931	14085	15312	9223	10500	11782	12929	21072	23431	25867	28241
Interior	18965	20341	21891	23648	13004	14876	16810	18863	31969	35217	38701	42511
Sharqiya	20104	21540	22983	24994	14752	16493	18100	19938	34856	38033	41083	44932
Al-Batina	43516	47179	51259	56247	32707	37133	42049	47061	76223	84312	93308	103308
Al-Zahira	13851	14818	16123	17517	11022	12491	13955	15405	24873	27309	30078	32922
Masandam	2145	2338	2523	2748	1499	1689	1897	2166	3644	4027	4420	4914
Total	138017	148509	160561	174707	106640	120213	134373	148761	244657	268722	294934	323468

(1989/90) Total number of Students (Boys & Girls) at Different Education Levels

Education level	Males				Females				Total			
	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90
Primary	106848	114630	122374	129253	88148	97698	106340	113741	194996	212328	228714	242994
Preparatory	24337	26892	30697	35882	13678	16197	20333	25331	38015	43089	51030	61213
Secondary	6832	6987	7490	9572	4184	6318	7700	9689	11646	13305	15190	19261
Total	138017	148509	160561	174707	106640	120213	134373	148761	244657	268722	294934	323468

Omani Students of Qaboos University according to Specialisation (the year 1989/90)

College	1st year			2nd year			3rd year			4th year			Total		
	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total
Art	85	46	131	72	49	121	55	54	109	—	—	—	212	149	361
Education & Islamic sciences	77	187	264	78	181	259	108	132	240	111	132	243	263	500	763
Agriculture	57	17	74	68	15	83	68	9	77	71	6	77	264	47	311
Medicine	40	36	76	33	21	54	35	21	56	21	31	52	129	109	238
Science	47	39	86	39	36	75	45	34	79	25	22	47	156	131	287
Engineering	81	19	100	83	17	100	62	1	63	77	7	84	303	44	347
Total	**387**	**344**	**731**	**373**	**319**	**692**	**373**	**251**	**624**	**305**	**198**	**503**	**1327**	**980**	**2308**

Appendix to Chapter II

Appendix to Chapter II

(A) Expatriate labour in Sultanate:

— Labour cards issued for expatriates in the private sector by main economic activities

— Labour cards issued to non-Omanis and their Nationalities

— Civil service employment in Government sector (Omani and non-Omani)

Source: Statistical Year Book — Ministry of Social Affairs & Labour, Ts — Development Council — Sultanate of Oman.

Labour Cards issued for expatriates in the private sector by main economic activities

Serial No.	Economic Activity	No. of Labour Cards
1.	Agriculture & Fisheries	20016
2.	Mines & Quarries	4020
3.	Convention Industries	9192
4.	Electricity, Gas and Water	471
5.	Construction Works	81228
6.	Trade, Restaurants and Hotels	79256
7.	Transport & Storage Works	3120
8.	Financial Institutions & Insurance	5107
9.	Social and Personal	42183
	Total	**248870**

Social and personal services will include nannies and other House-maids and servants which amounts up to 28006 of this figure.

Labour Cards issued for expatriates in the private sector according to nationality at the end of 1988

Serial No.	Nationality	Number	%
1.	Indians	152682	61.4
2.	Pakistani	42485	17.1
3.	Bangladesh	32362	13.0
4.	Sri-Lankan	7963	3.2
5.	Iranian	160	0.1
6.	Philippines	4761	1.9
7.	Korean	14	0.01
8.	Cyprus	158	0.06
9.	Tailand	281	0.1
10.	Other Asians	114	0.05
11.	Lebanese	484	0.2
12.	Jordanian	273	0.1
13.	Syrian	208	0.1
14.	Palastinians	32	0.1
15.	Egyptians	2162	0.9
16.	Sudanese	489	0.9
17.	Other Arabs	339	0.1
18.	Tanzanians	44	0.2
19.	Other Africans	46	0.2
20.	British	2476	1.0
21.	Holland	330	0.1
22.	France	171	0.07
23.	German	150	0.06
24.	Swedish	30	0.01
25.	Italian	85	0.03
26.	Other Europeans	244	0.1
27.	Canadians & Americans	298	0.1
28.	Other Nationalities	89	0.04
	Total	**248870**	**100%**

Civil Service employment in Government Sector (Omanis and non-Omanis)

At the end of	Total	Omani	Non-Omani	% of Omanis
1970	1750	1630	120	93
1971	3112	2857	255	91.8
1972	5318	4765	553	89.6
1973	9073	7403	1670	81.6
1974	12035	9035	3000	75
1975	19123	13616	5507	71.2
1976	2231	15668	6643	70.2
1977	26765	17269	9496	64.5
1978	30424	8466	11958	60.7
1979	35030	21216	13814	60.6
1980	38840	23445	15395	60.4
1981	43751	26886	16865	61.5
1982	49809	29647	20162	59.5
1983	54877	33543	21334	61
1984	62043	37119	24924	59.8
1985	66648	39192	27456	58.8
1986	67550	40223	27327	59.5
1987	72260	42977	29283	59.5
1988	75109	45574	29535	60.7
1989	77269	47785	29484	61.8

Civil Service Omani employees (Males & Females) — 1989

1986		1987		1988		1989	
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
36918	3305	38791	4186	40800	4774	42482	5303

Appendix to Chapter IV

Appendix to Chapter IV

QUESTIONNAIRE A/1

(Issued to the nanny-employing families)

The results based on the replies to questions 1-35 of Questionnaire A/1 are to be found in Chapter V: Characteristics of the Families in the Sample. The results based on questions 36-58 form Chapter VII: The Nanny's Role. Questions 59-64 are the basis for Chapter VIII: Motivation for the Employment of Nannies.

Section I: Characteristics of the families in the sample

- **A Householder**
- **B Housewife**
- **C General information**
- **D Family housing**
- **E Child-rearing practices**

Section II: The nanny's role

- **A Allocation of responsibilities for the children**
- **B The nanny's duties**
- **C Employer's satisfaction with the nannies**

Section III: Motivation for Employment of Nannies

Section I: Characteristics of the families in the sample

A Householder

(1) Age (in complete years):

(2) Marital status:

— married: one wife

— married: more than one wife

— divorced

— widower

(3) Division of time between wives/families (if applicable):

— more time with first wife/family

— time equally divided

— more time with second wife/family

(4) Education:

— illiterate

— literate

— educational level completed: primary

preparatory

secondary

university

(5) Main and secondary occupations — listed in order: 1 2 3

— businessman employing labour

— self-employed, employing no labour

— employee

— unemployed — seeking employment

— unemployed — not seeking employment

(6) Employment sector:

— civil service

— private sector

— both

B Housewife

(7) Age (in complete years):

(8) Education:

— illiterate

— literate

— educational level completed: primary

preparatory

secondary

university

(9) Occupation:

(10) Employment sector:

— civil service

— private sector

— both

— unemployed

(11) Working hours (if applicable):

— mornings only

— afternoons only

— full time

— shifts

C General information

(12) Family type:

— extended

— nuclear

(13) No. of family members:

(14) Children under seven: male female

— under 12 months

— 1-2 years

— 2-3 years

— 3-4 years

— 4-5 years

— 5-6 years

(15) Monthly income in Omani Ryals:

(16) Language of communication in normal use within the family:

D Family Housing

(17) Type of tenure:

— owned

— rented

— provided by employer

(18) Sharing accommodation:

— self-contained

— shared

(19) Type of property:

— detached house/villa

— flat

— subsidised: class 1

class 2

(20) No. of rooms:

(21) No. of bedrooms:

(22) No. of children's bedrooms:

(23) Nanny' sleeping location

E Child-rearing practices

(24) Do parents encourage children to express their opinions?

(25) Are they consistent in their disciplinary procedures?

(26) Do they reward good behaviour?

(27) Do they punish bad behaviour?

(28) Do they use corporal punishment?

(29) Do they belittle their children in public?

(30) Do they implement their orders to their children?

(31) Are they firm in dealing with their children's demands?

(32) Do they discriminate amongst their children, especially between boys and girls?

(33) Do they quarrel in front of the children?

(34) Do they make promises to their children which they don't fulfil?

(35) Do they tell their children lies?

Section II: The nanny's role

A Allocation of responsibilities for the children:

	mother	nanny	both	others
(36)	Who prepares the baby's bottle?			
(37)	Who changes the baby's nappies/clothes?			
(38)	Who looks after and plays with the baby?			
(39)	Who supervises the baby while it is asleep?			
(40)	Who gets the children up for school in the morning?			
(41)	Who gets their breakfast, puts them into their school clothes, and sees that they change when they come home?			
(42)	Who helps the children with their homework?			
(43)	Who plays with and entertains the children?			
(44)	Who tells the children stories?			
(45)	Who sees to the children's hygiene?			
(46)	Who gives them minor first-aid?			
(47)	Who gives them their medicine when they're ill?			

B The nanny's duties

		always	sometimes	never
(48)	— waking the children			
	— cleaning the children			
	— feeding the children			
	— helping the children with homework			
	— taking the children for picnics			
	— accompanying the children on family visits			
	— sleeping with the children			
	— cleaning and organising the house			
	— doing the household shopping			
	— cooking			
	— serving the meals			
	— washing up			
	— washing and ironing			
	— caring for older family members			
	— other duties (specify)			

(49) **The nanny's role as seen by her employers:**

— nanny

— housemaid

— both

C Employers' satisfaction with the nannies

(50) **Employers' satisfacton with the nannies overall:**

— completely satisfied

— satisfied for the most part

— fairly satisfied

— dissatisfied

(51) Possible reasons for complete satisfaction:

— obedience

— time spent with children

— honesty

— lack of interference

— discretion

— time devoted to family

— respect for family values

— others (specify)

(52) Possible reasons for dissatisfaction/partial satisfaction:

— disobedience, or slow/inefficient execution of orders

— carelessness with children

— lack of discretion

— dishonesty

— personal problems that affect her work

— conflicting values

— others (specify)

(53) Degree of satisfaction with the nanny as child-carer:

— completely satisfied

— satisfied for the most part

— fairly satisfied

— dissatisfied

(54) Possible reasons for satisfaction:

— obedience

— kindness to the children

— skill in handling the children

— taking them out

— others (specify)

(55) Possible reasons for partial satisfaction/dissatisfaction:

— lack of Arabic

— harsh treatment of the children

— teaching alien values/practices

— complaints from children

— failure to listen to the children's problems

— others (specify)

(56) Sample families' view of child-nanny relationship:

— good

— normal

— bad

(57) Indicators of good child-nanny relationship:

— they do what nanny tells them

— they treat her kindly

— they don't complain of her to their parents

— they trust her to keep their secrets

— others (specify)

(58) Indicators of poor child-nanny relationship:

— they regularly complain about her

— they don't do what she tells them

— they don't treat her kindly

— they don't tell her their problems

Section III: Motivation for employment of nannies

(59) Possible reasons for employing a nanny:

— the wife is working

— there are too many children in the family

— elderly members of the family need care

— for general domestic help

— for prestige

— because of family tradition

— others (specify)

(60) Intermittent employment of nannies:

— has the family been without a nanny during the last 5 years?

— if so, for how long

(61) Possible reasons for intermittent employment:

— it was difficult to get a nanny

— the nanny failed to return from leave to her home-country

— problems caused by previous nanny

— termination of nanny's usefulness

— others (specify)

(62) Did the lack of a nanny cause a noticeable extra workload for any of the family?

— yes

— no

(63) Has the nanny caused any other problems for the family?

— yes

— no

(64) If so, please specify:

QUESTIONNAIRE C/1

(Issued to the non-nanny-employing families)

The results based on the replies to questions 1-35 of Questionnaire A/1 are to be found in Chapter V: Characteristics of the Families in the Sample. Question 36 is included in Chapter VIII: Motivation for the Employment of Nannies.

Section I: Characteristics of the families in the sample

A Householder

B Housewife

C General information

D Family housing

E Child-rearing practices

Section II: Views on the employment of a foreign nanny

Section I: Characteristics of the families in the sample

A Householder

(1) Age (in complete years):

(2) Marital status:

— married: one wife

— married: more than one wife

— divorced

— widower

(3) Division of time between wives/families (if applicable):

— more time with first wife/family

— time equally divided

— more time with second wife/family

(4) Education:

— illiterate

— literate

— educational level completed: primary

preparatory

secondary

university

(5) Main and secondary occupations — listed in order: 1 2 3

— businessman employing labour

— self-employed, employing no labour

— employee

— unemployed — seeking employment

— unemployed — not seeking employment

(6) Employment sector:

— civil service

— private sector

— both

B Housewife

(7) Age (in complete years):

(8) Education:

— illiterate

— literate

— educational level completed: primary

preparatory

secondary

university

(9) Occupation:

(10) Employment sector:

— civil service

— private sector

— both

— unemployed

(11) Working hours (if applicable):

— mornings only

— afternoons only

— full time

— shifts

C General information

(12) Family type:

— extended

— nuclear

(13) No. of family members:

(14) Children under seven: male female

— under 12 months

— 1-2 years

— 2-3 years

— 3-4 years

— 4-5 years

— 5-6 years

(15) Monthly income in Omani Ryals:

(16) Language of communication in normal use within the family:

D Family Housing

(17) Type of tenure:

— owned

— rented

— provided by employer

(18) Sharing accommodation:

— self-contained

— shared

(19) Type of property:

— detached house/villa

— flat

— subsidised: class 1

class 2

(20) No. of rooms:

(21) No. of bedrooms:

(22) No. of children's bedrooms:

(23) Nanny' sleeping location

E Child-rearing practices

(24) Do parents encourage children to express their opinions?

(25) Are they consistent in their disciplinary procedures?

(26) Do they reward good behaviour?

(27) Do they punish bad behaviour?

(28) Do they use corporal punishment?

(29) Do they belittle their children in public?

(30) Do they implement their orders to their children?

(31) Are they firm in dealing with their children's demands?

(32) Do they discriminate amongst their children, especially between boys and girls?

(33) Do they quarrel in front of the children?

(34) Do they make promises to their children which they don't fulfil?

(35) Do they tell their children lies?

Section II: Views on the employment of foreign nannies

(36) Would the family like to have a foreign nanny?

— yes

— why?

— no

— why?

QUESTIONNAIRE A/2

(Questions regarding their children, issued to the nanny-employing families)

The results based on the answers to Questionnaire A/2 are to be found in Chapter IX: The Effects of Using Foreign Nannies.

Section I: Child's relationship with parents and nanny

Section II: Child's development

A Cognitive development

B Linguistic development

C Psychological development

D Social development

Section III: Language of communication with nanny

Section I: Child's relationship with parents and nanny

	Parent	Nanny
(1) From whom does the child ask permission to play?		
(2) To whom does he turn for help with his schoolwork?		
(3) Whose company does he prefer on outings?		
(4) Whose company does he prefer when watching TV?		
(5) Whose company does he prefer at meals?		
(6) To whom does he go for food when he's hungry?		
(7) To whom does he turn to settle sibling quarrels?		
(8) To whom does he go when his clothes get dirty?		
(9) With whom does he prefer to sleep?		

Section II: Child's development

A Cognitive development:

(i) MEMORY AND RECALL:

(10) Can he remember after a period what he has seen or heard?		
(11) Can he retell a story coherently?		
(12) Can he remember a situation from a film he has seen?		

(ii) SIZE-RECOGNITION:

(13) Can he distinguish the relative values of coins on the basis of their size?		

(iii) QUESTION-ASKING

(14) Does he ask questions in order to understand the world around him?		

(iv) REASONING AND COORDINATION:

(15) Can he take apart and reassemble constructional toys?

(v) PERCEPTION OF CAUSE AND EFFECT:

(16) Does he understand that playing with fire will cause burning?

(vi) SPEECH:

(17) Does he suffer from difficulty in articulation, or any non-physical speech impediment?

(18) Does he directly answer questions put to him?

B Linguistic development

(i) VOCABULARY:

(19) Does his vocabulary include a number of terms referring to his immediate environment (eg. police station, garden, mosque, hospital etc.)?

(ii) GRAMMATICAL USAGE:

(20) Does he confuse singular and plural, or masculine and feminine?

C Psychological development

(i) CHILDHOOD FEARS:

(21) Is he afraid of sleeping alone in the dark?

(22) Is he afraid of 'pet' animals?

(ii) ANXIETY, DEPRESSION, SHYNESS:

(23) Does he have neurotic habits (eg. nail-biting, bed-wetting, thumb-sucking, stammering etc)?

(24) Is he generally anxious and clinging?

(25) Is he solitary and depressed?

(26) *When he is approached by strangers, does he weep and withdraw?

(27) Is he generally shy?

(iii) ATTITUDES TO DISCIPLINE:

(28) Is he stubborn and disobedient?

(29) Is he aggressive; does he tend to attack his peers?

(30) Does he appear to be organised and like discipline?

(31) *Does he show a negative reaction to criticism (eg. weeps and withdraws)?

(iv) DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE:

Does he:

(32) Feed himself?

(33) Bath himself?

(34) Dress/undress himself?

(35) Use the lavatory unaided?

(36) Get his own drinking water?

(37) Go shopping for himself?

(38) Ride his bicycle unaided?

D Social development

(i) SOCIAL CONFIDENCE:

(39) Does he enjoy playing with other children?

(40) Does he quarrell with other children?

(41) Is he an attention-seeker?

(42) Does he try to dominate his companions?

(ii) GENERAL INTERACTION WITH OTHER CHILDREN:

(43) How do the following groups of his peers rank in his affections:

	1	2	3
Brothers & sisters			
Neighbours			
Schoolmates			

(iii) DEVELOPING CONSCIENCE:

(44) Does he show respect and obedience to his elders?

(45) Is he aware of what is right and what is wrong?

(46) Is he aware of 'the rules' — ie. what is permissible and what is not?

(47) Does he behave badly when he is away from his family?

(48) Does he apologise for bad behaviour?

Section III: Language of communication with nanny

(49) Does he communicate with the nanny in:

— Arabic

— English

— the nanny's language

— a mixture?

(50) Does he imitate the nanny's accent or patois?

(51) Does he suffer ridicule from his peers because of this?

QUESTIONNAIRE C/2

(Questions regarding their children, issued to the non-nanny-employing families)

The results based on the answers to Questionnaire C/2 are to be found in Chapter IX: The Effects of Using Foreign Nannies.

Section I: Child's relationship with parents and nanny

Section II: Child's development

A Cognitive development

B Linguistic development

C Psychological development

D Social development

Section I: Child's relationship with parents and nanny

	Parent	Nanny
(1) From whom does the child ask permission to play?		
(2) To whom does he turn for help with his schoolwork?		
(3) Whose company does he prefer on outings?		
(4) Whose company does he prefer when watching TV?		
(5) Whose company does he prefer at meals?		
(6) To whom does he go for food when he's hungry?		
(7) To whom does he turn to settle sibling quarrels?		
(8) To whom does he go when his clothes get dirty?		
(9) With whom does he prefer to sleep?		

Section II: Child's development

A Cognitive development:

(i) MEMORY AND RECALL:		
(10) Can he remember after a period what he has seen or heard?		
(11) Can he retell a story coherently?		
(12) Can he remember a situation from a film he has seen?		
(ii) SIZE-RECOGNITION:		
(13) Can he distinguish the relative values of coins on the basis of their size?		
(iii) QUESTION-ASKING		
(14) Does he ask questions in order to understand the world around him?		

(iv) REASONING AND COORDINATION:

(15) Can he take apart and reassemble constructional toys?

(v) PERCEPTION OF CAUSE AND EFFECT:

(16) Does he understand that playing with fire will cause burning?

(vi) SPEECH:

(17) Does he suffer from difficulty in articulation, or any non-physical speech impediment?

(18) Does he directly answer questions put to him?

B Linguistic development

(i) VOCABULARY:

(19) Does his vocabulary include a number of terms referring to his immediate environment (eg. police station, garden, mosque, hospital etc.)?

(ii) GRAMMATICAL USAGE:

(20) Does he confuse singular and plural. or masculine and feminine?

C Psychological development

(i) CHILDHOOD FEARS:

(21) Is he afraid of sleeping alone in the dark?

(22) Is he afraid of 'pet' animals?

(ii) ANXIETY, DEPRESSION, SHYNESS:

(23) Does he have neurotic habits (eg. nail-biting, bed-wetting, thumb-sucking, stammering etc)?

(24) Is he generally anxious and clinging?

(25) Is he solitary and depressed?

(26) *When he is approached by strangers, does he weep and withdraw?

(27) Is he generally shy?

(iii) ATTITUDES TO DISCIPLINE:

(28) Is he stubborn and disobedient?

(29) Is he aggressive; does he tend to attack his peers?

(30) Does he appear to be organised and like discipline?

(31) *Does he show a negative reaction to criticism (eg. weeps and withdraws)?

(iv) DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE:

Does he:

(32) Feed himself?

(33) Bath himself?

(34) Dress/undress himself?

(35) Use the lavatory unaided?

(36) Get his own drinking water?

(37) Go shopping for himself?

(38) Ride his bicycle unaided?

D Social development

(i) SOCIAL CONFIDENCE:

(39) Does he enjoy playing with other children?

(40) Does he quarrell with other children?

(41) Is he an attention-seeker?

(42) Does he try to dominate his companions?

(ii) GENERAL INTERACTION WITH OTHER CHILDREN:

(43) How do the following groups of his peers rank in his affections:

	1	2	3
Brothers & sisters			
Neighbours			
Schoolmates			

(iii) DEVELOPING CONSCIENCE:

(44) Does he show respect and obedience to his elders?

(45) Is he aware of what is right and what is wrong?

(46) Is he aware of 'the rules' — ie. what is permissible and what is not?

(47) Does he behave badly when he is away from his family?

(48) Does he apologise for bad behaviour?

QUESTIONNAIRE B

(Questions about their personal and family circumstances, educational, religious and social background, addressed to the nannies in the sample.)

The results based on the answers to Questionnaire B are to be found in Chapter VI: Nannies and their Background.

Section I: Background details of nannies

Section II: Patterns of behaviour in nannies' families

Section III: Cultural values of the nannies' societies

Section I: Background details of nannies

(1) Nationality:

(2) Religion:

(3) Minimum age of employment in countries of origin:

— > 12 years

— 12-15 years

— 15-18 years

— 18-21 years

— 21 + years

(4) Length of service with current family:

(5) Length of service in the Sultanate:

(6) Age (in complete years):

(7) Status (in the nanny's view):

— nanny

— housemaid

— both

(8) Salary (monthly, in Omani Ryals):

(9) Education:

— illiterate

— basic reading and writing

— educational level completed — give details

(10) Knowledge of Arabic:

— none

— weak

— average

— good

(11) Language spoken in country of origin:

(12) Language used to communicate with children of employers:

(13) Language used to communicate with employers:

(14) Marital status:

— single

— married

— divorced

— widowed

— separated

(15) No. of children:

(16) No. of children resident in Oman:

(17) If married, does husband live in Oman?

— yes

— no

(18) Does she have relatives in Oman?

— yes

— no

(19) If so, what is the relationship?

(20) If married, occupation of husband:

(21) At what intervals is the nanny allowed to visit her home-country?

(22) Place of residence in her home country:

— village

— town

— large city

(23) Main economic activity in her home country:

— agriculture

— fishing

— industry

— retail trade

— service industries

Section II: Patterns of behaviour in the nannies' families

(i) RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE:

(24) Does the nanny's family regularly observe the rituals of an established religion?

(25) If so, does it observe these as a community practice?

(26) Does it place ritual restrictions on particular types of food and/or drink?

(ii) FAMILY ROUTINE:

(27) Do the nanny's children go to school *before* the minumum age of 6?

(28) Do they have regular mealtimes?

(29) Do they have an early bedtime?

(30) Do they have a regular breakfast?

(31) Are they encouraged to play with other children?

(32) Are they allowed to play with/among much older children?

(33) Do these older children often have bad/immoral habits?

(34) Are the nanny's children brought up by other members of the family?

(iii) FAMILY DISCIPLINE:

(35) Can the nanny's children express their views freely in front of their parents?

(36) Does the father scold the children in public?

(37) Does he employ corporal punishment?

(38) Does he reward the children for good behaviour/achievements?

(39) Do the parents encourage the children to do well at school?

(40) Do they use fear (eg. of darkness, or bogeymen) as a means of discipline?

(41) Does the mother tell the children bedtime stories?

(42) Are the children expected to obey their elders?

(43) Do the children protest at unfair treatment?

(44) Do they ask permission before (eg.) going out to play?

(45) Are the children taught basic social etiquette?

(46) If so, who teaches them:

— parents

— relatives

— others (specify)

Section III: Cultural values of the nannies' societies

(i) STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOUR:

(47) Do the nannies' societies reject swearing?

(48) Do they encourage blood revenge?

(49) In the nanny's view, who is responsible for the child's moral education?

— parents

— parents & relatives

— parents & church

— parents & school

(50) Are boys under 12 allowed to drink alcohol?

(51) Are boys under 12 allowed to smoke?

(ii) RELIGIOUS VALUES:

(52) Does the nanny's community observe any religious practices?

— yes

— no

(53) If so, give details

(54) Are these observances normally performed as a communal act?

(55) Are individuals who don't conform to these practices ostracised by the community?

(56) Are any songs, dances, games associated with these rituals?

(57) Do the nannies' societies observe special rites on any of the following occasions:

— engagement

— marriage

— birth

— circumcision

— death

— weaning

— coming-of-age

(58) In case of illness, do they consult:

— a doctor

— a priest/holy man

(ii) FAMILY VALUES:

(59) Does the family frequently include grandfathers and great-grandfathers among its members?

(60) Does the community allow/encourage wives to take paid employment?

(61) Does the community place restrictions on the type of work they may do?

(62) Is the husband allowed to seek divorce?

(63) Is the wife allowed to seek divorce?

(64) In cases of divorce, is the mother usually grante custody of the children?

(65) Is it acceptable for the husband to insult or even beat his wife in front of the children?

(66) Does the husband frequently beat his wife?

— yes — no

(67) Can the divorced woman marry again?

(68) Can a widow remarry?

(69) Is marriage the norm in the society?

(70) Is divorce frowned on in the society?

(71) Is birth-control dissapproved of in the society?

(72) Does the society have a preference for male births?

(73) Does the society prefer marriage within the clan?

(74) Does the society prefer early marriage (ie. under 14)?

(75) At what age is it permissible for the sexes to marry?

Age	Male	Female
— > 15 years		
— 15-17 years		
— 17-19 years		
— 19-21 years		
— 21 + years		

(76) Does the society expect the father to support his family financially?

(77) Does the mother frequently help the father as a source both of labour and income?

(78) Which is the figure of authority in the family:

— father

— mother

— both

(79) Are good relations with neighbours regarded as desirable?

(79) Do neighbours normally participate in happy family occasions?

(80) Do they also give support in times of sadness or misfortune?

(81) Do neighbours regularly exchange hospitality?

Appendix to Chapter V

Appendix to Chapter V

Table 5.3 Family Type

Family type	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	χ^2
Nuclear	67	59	2.39 NS
Extended	13	21	

Table 5.4 Family Size

No. in family	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	χ^2
3-4	23	16	3.98 NS
5-6	26	31	
7-8	10	14	
9-10	14	9	
11+	7	10	

Table 5.5 Family Income

Family income (Omani Rials)	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	χ^2
200-399	4	2	2.86 NS
400-599	4	13	
600-799	16	13	
800-999	16	15	
1000-1199	9	7	
1200-1399	8	8	
1400-1599	6	5	
1600-1799	4	6	
1800+	14	11	

Table 5.6 Division of Time Among Wives (Actual Nos.)

Division of time	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	χ^2
More time with first wife	4	5	2.86 NS
Time equally divided	2	0	
More time with second wife	1	0	

Table 5.7 Educational level

Education level	Householders		Housewives		χ^2
	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	
Illiterate	2	2	17	17	0 NS
Literate	16	15	8	5	0.36 NS
Primary	12	14	12	14	0 NS
Preparatory	5	10	5	14	0.20 NS
Secondary	27	23	24	19	0.031 NS
University	17	16	14	11	0.12 NS
χ^2	2.197 NS		6.05 NS		

Table 5.8 Language of Communication Between Parents and Children

Language	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	χ^2
Arabic	57	71	4.25 *
Non-Arabic	43	29	

Table 5.9 Family Age (Husbands and Wives)

Age in years	Householders		Housewives		χ^2
	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	
17-24	0	8	13	26	3.69 NS
25-29	14	21	33	32	1.06 NS
30-34	22	19	21	12	0.748 NS
35-39	19	16	8	6	0.03 NS
40-44	10	7	2	3	0.55 NS
45-49	6	5	3	1	0.51 NS
50-54	2	3	0	0	—
55-59	4	1	0	0	—
60-69	3	0	0	0	—
χ^2	15.497 NS		8.289 NS		

Table 5.10 Family Occupation (Husbands and Wives)

Profession		Householders		Housewives		χ^2
		Nanny group	Non-nanny group	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	
Academic/ technical	b	12	6	13	20	3.47 NS
Top executive/ managerial	a	1	1	0	0	—
	b	17	24	2	4	0.14 NS
Clerical/ civil-service	b	19	27	20	17	1.34 NS
Retail/sales	a	18	8	0	0	—
Service production	b	13	11	1	0	0.82 NS
Production		—	—	—	—	—
Production workers	b	0	0	7	0	—
χ^2		8.54 NS		10.35 *		

Table 5.11 Occupation According to Work Sector

Sector	Householders		Housewives		χ^2
	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	
Public	49	58	33	40	0.01 NS
Private	21	22	10	1	6.34 *
χ^2	0.11 NS		7.99 **		

Table 5.12 Wives' Working Hours

Working hours	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	χ^2
Mornings only	36	34	3.88 NS
Evenings only	2	4	
Full-time	3	0	
Shifts	2	3	

Table 5.13 Family Housing

Nature of accommodation	Categories	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	χ^2
Type of tenure	owed	57	56	2.42 NS
	rented	11	15	
	provided by employer	12	8	
	non-specified	0	1	
Exclusivity	self-contained	77	79	2.03 NS
	shared	2	0	
	non-specified	1	1	
Type of property	detached dwelling	66	59	4.86 NS
	medium social housing	1	2	
	limited social housing	1	0	
	flat	11	19	
	non-specified	1	0	
χ^2		9.31 NS		

Table 5.14 No. of Rooms in Family Dwellings

Rooms	Numbers	Nanny group	Non-nanny group	χ^2
No. of rooms	1-3	12	19	6.63 NS
	4-6	49	46	
	7-9	18	10	
	10-15	1	5	
No. of bedrooms	1-3	25	35	5.67 NS
	3-4	49	37	
	5-6	5	7	
	7-8	1	0	
	9-10	0	1	
No. of children's bedrooms	none	3	4	4.50 NS
	1	50	4	
	2	24	16	
	3	2	4	
	4	0	2	
	non-specified	1	1	
χ^2		50.98 **		

Table 5.15 Distribution of Child Rearing Practices

Child rearing	Nanny group				Non-nanny group				χ^2
	yes	to some extent	no	non-specified	yes	to some extent	no	non-specified	
Encouragement in self-expression	52	21	6	1	61	15	4	0	3.12 NS
Consistency of discipline	3	16	61	0	7	19	54	0	2.28 NS
Rewarding good behaviour	68	8	4	0	61	11	6	2	3.25 NS
Punishing bad behaviour	42	21	17	0	57	17	5	1	10.24 *
Implementation of orders	32	31	18	0	33	32	15	0	0.35 NS
Dealing with children's demands	1	28	51	0	6	20	54	0	4.99 NS
Corporal punishment	22	24	34	0	45	15	20	0	13.6 **
Sex discrimination	1	1	78	0	5	30	45	0	38.65 **
Quarrelling in front of the children	1	12	67	0	0	2	78	0	8.98 *
Rebuking the children in public	4	15	61	0	1	12	67	0	2.41 NS
Making false promises	2	14	62	2	2	12	66	0	2.28 NS
Deliberate misinformation	1	9	68	2	1	9	70	0	2.03 NS
χ^2	131.38 **				144.4 **				

Appendix to Chapter IX

Distribution of the sample children aged between 2 and 4 years according to knowledge and linguistic development.

Distribution of the sample children aged between 2 and 4 years according to knowledge and linguistic development.

Table 9.2 Memory and recall

Recall	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Things seen and learnt	16	28	18	0	16	17	17	0	1.14 NS
Outline of story	7	17	37	1	7	13	30	0	0.29 NS
Situation from film	9	23	29	1	19	11	20	0	7.75 **

Table 9.3 Size-recognition

Size-recognition	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Can differentiate	5	16	41	0	11	9	30	0	4.19 *

Table 9.4 Question-asking

Question-asking	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Ask frequent questions	17	22	23	0	26	9	15	0	7.14 **

Table 9.5 Skill in assembling/disassembling constructional toys

Constructional skill	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Can manipulate toys	16	22	24	0	18	12	20	0	2.15 NS

Table 9.6 Perception of Cause and Effect

Perception of cause and effect	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Sees danger of playing with fire	28	13	21	0	19	9	22	0	0.001 NS

Table 9.7 Difficulties in Articulation

Speech impedement	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Impedement	8	14	40	0	2	7	41	0	0.58 NS

Table 9.8 Answering Questions

Response to questions	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Direct response	18	20	24	0	17	12	21	0	0.83 NS

Table 9.9 Children's Vocabulary

Vocabulary	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Knows terms	25	19	18	0	28	7	15	0	4.74 *

Table 9.10 Grammatical Usage

Grammatical usage	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Cannot differentiate	16	22	24	0	9	14	27	0	0.05 NS

Table 9.11 Language of Communication with the Nanny

Language	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	χ^2
Arabic	12	20	30	0	—
English	22	10	30	0	—
Mixed	25	6	30	1	—
Nanny's language	15	4	42	1	—

Table 9.12 Imitating the nanny's accent or language

Imitation of nanny's accent/patois	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	χ^2
Accent	36	4	22	0	—
Vocabulary	16	6	40	0	—

Table 9.13 Mockery by Peers because of Non-Omani Vocabulary and Accent

Discrimination	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	χ^2
Faces discrimination	14	10	35	3	—

Table 9.14 Childhood Fears

Childhood fears	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Darkness	37	7	18	0	26	4	19	1	2.51
Animals	13	14	35	0	18	5	27	0	4.873

Table 9.15 Anxiety, depression and shyness

Anxiety, depression and shyness	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Anxiety	5	1	56	0	8	1	41	0	1.77
Depression/isolation	5	7	50	0	5	5	40	0	0.16
Shyness	1	10	51	0	6	6	38	0	5.35

Table 9.16 Attitudes to Discipline

Attitudes to discipline	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Disobedience	13	22	27	0	15	17	17	1	2.80
Aggression	19	16	27	0	8	10	32	0	4.06
Preference for discipline	12	17	33	0	4	11	35	0	4.11
Negative reaction to correction	14	24	22	2	14	8	27	1	7.65

Table 9.17 Degree of Independence

Degree of independence	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Feeds himself	13	14	34	1	23	7	19	1	8.16
Baths himself	4	2	54	2	4	4	40	2	1.48
Dresses undresses himself	2	9	50	1	4	11	33	1	2.87
Uses the lavatory unaided	6	11	44	1	17	10	22	1	11.49
Gets his own drinking water	10	10	42	0	25	11	14	0	19.41
Goes shopping for himself	4	7	50	1	7	14	28	1	8.17
Rides his bicycle unaided	21	9	28	4	23	6	20	1	2.57

Table 9.18 Social Confidence

Social Confidence	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Playing with others	47	12	3	0	44	5	1	0	2.93
Quarrelling	6	21	35	0	10	11	29	0	3.34
Attention-seeking	15	24	23	0	17	13	19	1	3.53
Being domineering	4	10	47	1	7	9	34	0	2.71

Table 9.20 Indicators of a Developing Conscience

Indicators of conscience	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Respect for elders	8	22	32	0	5	12	33	0	3.20
Knowledge of right and wrong	13	20	28	1	12	8	30	0	5.83*
Knowledge of the rules	1	10	48	3	1	3	46	0	6.40*
Good behaviour when unsupervised	4	9	49	0	5	4	41	0	2.28
Apology for bad behaviour	12	20	29	1	13	8	28	1	4.77

Distribution of the sample children aged between 4 and 6 years according to knowledge and linguistic development.

Distribution of the sample children aged between 4 and 6 years according to knowledge and linguistic development.

Table 9.2 Memory and recall

Recall	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Things seen and learnt	38	28	8	0	62	20	4	0	5.43 *
Outline of story	32	25	17	0	50	22	13	1	2.43 NS
Situation from film	38	26	10	0	60	21	5	0	3.53 NS

Table 9.3 Size-recognition

Size-recognition	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Can differentiate	40	12	22	0	52	15	18	1	0.008 NS

Table 9.4 Question-asking

Question-asking	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Ask frequent questions	36	30	8	0	53	13	18	2	9.97 **

Table 9.5 Skill in assembling/disassembling constructional toys

Constructional skill	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Can manipulate toys	39	30	5	0	50	20	14	2	3.35 NS

Table 9.6 Perception of Cause and Effect

Perception of cause and effect	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Sees danger of playing with fire	65	6	3	0	72	9	5	0	0.30 NS

Table 9.7 Difficulties in Articulation

Speech impedement	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Impedement	12	12	50	0	4	6	76	0	0.28 NS

Table 9.8 Answering Questions

Response to questions	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Direct response	30	33	11	0	45	25	16	0	3.75 NS

Table 9.9 Children's Vocabulary

Vocabulary	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Knows terms	60	12	2	0	75	8	3	0	1.69 NS

Table 9.10 Grammatical Usage

Grammatical usage	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Cannot differentiate	15	14	45	0	14	12	60	0	0.03 NS

Table 9.11 Language of Communication with the Nanny

Language	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	χ^2
Arabic	20	18	35	1	—
English	30	14	30	0	—
Mixed	20	9	45	0	—
Nanny's language	16	5	53	0	—

Table 9.14 Childhood Fears

Childhood fears	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Darkness	38	13	20	1	31	15	40	2	6.32
Animals	7	14	52	1	10	20	55	1	0.78

Table 9.15 Anxiety, depression and shyness

Anxiety, depression and shyness	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Anxiety	6	2	66	0	6	5	74	1	0.97
Depression/isolation	3	1	70	0	1	7	77	1	5.07
Shyness	2	12	60	0	2	12	70	2	0.37

Table 9.16 Attitudes to Discipline

Attitudes to discipline	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Disobedience	9	30	34	1	13	52	19	1	10.16
Aggression	14	20	40	0	11	20	54	1	1.89
Preference for discipline	10	19	44	1	7	20	58	1	1.59
Negative reaction to correction	37	21	16	0	43	30	13	0	1.48

Table 9.17 Degree of Independence

Degree of independence	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Feeds himself	52	12	10	0	68	6	12	0	3.45
Baths himelf	16	14	44	0	34	5	47	0	10.00
Dresses undresses himself	19	23	32	0	47	7	32	0	19.62
Uses the lavatory unaided	43	11	20	0	62	7	17	0	3.71
Gets his own drinking water	49	13	12	0	76	7	3	0	12.15
Goes shopping for himself	17	16	41	0	47	18	21	0	20.06
Rides his bicycle unaided	42	8	22	2	64	3	19	0	6.71

Table 9.18 Social Confidence

Social Confidence	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Playing with others	60	9	5	0	81	4	1	0	7.70**
Quarrelling	13	21	40	0	7	38	41	0	5.84*
Attention-seeking	20	27	27	0	23	27	36	0	1.99 NS
Being domineering	9	11	54	0	9	22	54	1	3.79

Table 9.20 Indicators of a developing conscience

Indicators of conscience	Nanny				Non-nanny				χ^2
	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	Yes	Partly	No	Don't know	
Respect for elders	7	19	48	0	5	30	51	0	2.01
Knowledge of right and wrong	33	26	14	1	47	22	17	0	3.19
Knowledge of the rules	23	16	32	3	19	17	50	0	6.50*
Good behaviour when unsupervised	4	12	57	1	3	19	63	1	1.13
Apology for bad behaviour	29	17	26	2	40	19	27	0	3.00

SCOTTISH VOCATIONAL EDUCATION COUNCIL

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NATIONAL CERTIFICATE MODULE DESCRIPTOR

Cagalogue Ref	D8	Session 1990-91
Module Number	7140860	

Title	HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: BIRTH TO 8 YEARS (x 4)

Purpose

This module is designed to provide students with an introductory knowledge of various approaches to child development, and to enable them to develop skills of observing, interacting with, and reporting on children.

The module is suitable for those intending to make a career with young children. The main target groups are nursery nurses/child care workers, or any equivalent type of career involving the care of children.

The module is most likely to be part of an integrated programme of modules designed for the above target groups.

Preferred Entry Level

7010040 Communications 3.
Standard Grade in English at 3.
76070 The Family, The Community and the Young Child (may be taken in parallel).

Outcomes

The student should:

1. investigate the concept of children's all-round development;

2. contribute to the promotion of young children's development.

Assessment Procedures

Acceptable performance in the module will be satisfactory achievement of all the Performance Criteria specified for each Outcome.

The following abbreviations are used below:

PC Performance Criteria
IA Instrument of Assessment

Note: The Outcomes and PCs are mandatory and cannot be altered. The IA may be altered by arrangement with SCOTVEC. (Where a range of performance is indicated, this should be regarded as an extension of the PCs and is therefore mandatory.)

OUTCOME 1 INVESTIGATE THE CONCEPT OF CHILDREN'S ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT

PCs

(a) The description of major features of influential theories in relation to aspects of children's development is accurate.
(b) The identification of factors/life circumstances which may affect child development is accurate in terms of accepted theory.
(c) The description of the effect of the interrelation of various factors/life circumstances on children's all-round development is appropriate in the given circumstances.

IA Project

The student will be set a project covering knowledge of theories of development, factors affecting development and the effect of various factors on children's development. This project should be carried out as an open book exercise, preferably as part of the continuing work for the module.

The project will require the student, for PC(a) to investigate two accepted theories of development in relation to each of the following:

emotional development
personality development
moral development
cognitive development
language and communication
socialisation.

At least one main feature of each theory should be described. Reference should be made to maturation and to development taking place in stages and/or continuously.

For PC(b) a minimum of two biological factors, six environmental factors and four life circumstances should be suggested.
For PC(c) a minimum of three examples of the possible effects of the interrelationship of factors suggested at (b) must be given.

Satisfactory achievement of the Outcome will be based on the student satisfying all the Performance Criteria.

OUTCOME 2 CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROMOTION OF YOUNG CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT

PCs

(a) The interaction with children is sensitive to the needs of the individual child.
(b) The recording of the child's behaviour is organised clearly and is representative of the child's behaviour.
(c) The evaluation of the child's current developmental position in relation to specific aspects is accurate.
(d) The comparative weighting drawn up of individual children's needs is appropriate in the given circumstances and justified by the student.
(e) The suggestions for meeting individual children's needs in relation to the child's current developmental position are realistic.

IA Practical Exercise

The student will be given a practical exercise to test the knowledge and skills required to contribute to the promotion of young children's development.

For PC(a), the student is required to respond to the differing needs of individual children for:

(a) control;
(b) independence;
(c) responsibility;
(d) approval;
(e) affection;
(f) assistance with physical care;
(g) physical activities;
(h) intellectual stimulation;

The student should also respond to the differing needs of individual children for social interaction with:

(i) adults
(ii) other children

In interaction with children and in relation to their developmental needs, the student should show:

(a) patience;
(b) empathy;
(c) sensitivity;
(d) responsibility.

Each of the above requirements for PC(a) must be carried out competently three times with each of two age groups from the following:- birth - 3 years; 3 - 5 years: 5 - 8 years. In addition, the needs of individual children for social interaction with adults and other children must apply to an individual child and to a small group of children.

For PCs (b)-(e), the practical exercise is in the form of two child studies.

For PC(b), a student's direct observations of a chosen child should be carried out by means of an agreed observation schedule; observations should be made over a specified period of time, not less than 24 days, and should be representative of the child: ie. selected observations, rather than all the observations made, should be presented; placement staff should confirm that the observations are representative of the child.

For PC(c) an evaluation of the child's developmental position in relation to accepted scales of development should be made with comments on a minimum of four areas of development.

For PC(d) from the evaluation at (c), the child's developmental needs should be identified, and placed in order of priority; reasons must be given for the suggested priorities.

For PC(e) from the exercise at (d), the student should suggest two possible strategies by which the paramount identified need might be met by the workplace (at least in part). Reasons should be given for the suggestions, together with one possible effect on the child's development, for each strategy.

Two child studies should be completed, each from a different age group: birth-3 years; 3-5 years or 5-8 years.

1. One study should relate to the child's development overall.

2. The second study should relate to a selected aspect of the child's development; in relation to the evaluation of the child's current developmental position, the selected aspect of development should be related to the appropriate section of scales of development, with a minimum of four features of the selected aspect highlighted. Selected aspects might include physical skills, cognition, social development, language development.

Satisfactory achievement of the Outcome will be based on the student satisfying all the Performance Criteria.

The following sections of the descriptor are offered as guidance. They are not mandatory.

CONTENT/CONTEXT

Corresponding to Outcomes 1&2:

The content of this module is intended to introduce students to child development in relation to the theories of various major figures who continue to influence present thinking: the intention is to give students an overview, therefore several theories should be investigated in outline only.

1. The role of developmental psychology: past and current theories eg. Freud, Bowlby, Piaget, Skinner, Rutter, Sheridan, Bronfenbrenner, Schaffer-

   developmental scales;
   development as a continuous process.

   The basis of the work for this Outcome should include the following topics:

   - physical development;
   - cognitive development - including communication skills and intellectual development;
   - emotional development;
   - moral development;
   - personality development;
   - maturation and socialisation.

   Reference should be made to various theories related to these topics.

   An investigation of factors which may affect the child's development should be undertaken, including:-

   - the nature/nurture debate;
   - other biological influences on physical growth such as genetic, hormonal influences;
   - environmental factors such as housing, finance, the family, social and cultural issues, pre-schooling and schooling;
   - life circumstances such as birth of siblings, death of close relative, moving house;
   - the interrelationship of factors which may affect development eg. 3 year old starts pre-school just after brother is born.

   An introductory exploration only of these factors should be carried out.

2. Various methods of studying children's development: - the importance of organised, objective observation; presentation of material in clear and manageable formats; evaluation of observations; using observations to promote the development of individual children in relation to perceived needs.

Observation of, and interaction with children in a workplace situation; discussion with workplace staff of the possible reasons for observed behaviour of individual children.

Responding appropriately to the differing needs of individual children and to small groups of children eg. appropriate responses to a child's need for control, independence, approval, affection in an acceptable manner, responsibility; physical care; physical activities; social interaction; intellectual stimulation.

Qualities required to promote the child's sense of self-worth and personal identity eg. sensitivity, patience, empathy, responsibility.

SUGGESTED LEARNING AND TEACHING APPROACHES

Relating to Outcomes 1 and 2:

The content of this module is aimed at providing the student with various approaches to child development, as well as an understanding of his/her role in contributing to children's development. The intention of the investigation into various theories is to set the approach to child development in the context of the influence of theory, rather than to dissect theories in great detail and depth. Tutors will be aware of the varying abilities of their students, therefore opportunities should be made available for those students who wish to do so, to pursue their investigations in greater depth than the content requires.

1. Students should investigate some of the major theories which have influenced current thinking; this might be approached by small groups of students, or individually, using source material provided by the tutor; joint projects might be compiled, under tutor guidance, summarising the main features of various theories; each project might form part of a larger class project, resulting in all of the collated information being disseminated to all of the students. Students should be encouraged to relate their observations of children to their investigations; developmental scales should be presented to students as reference tools; various scales should be examined, in relation to similarities and discrepancies: the arguments for certain skills developing in stages while others follow a gradual and continuous process should be examined; students should be encouraged to consult

accepted scales of development to confirm their observations of children, rather than rely on their memory.

Factors which may affect children's development should also be approached as an investigation; the possible effects on children may be linked to students' observations in their workplace; a "project" approach to this area is also suitable, using individual, group and class work as appropriate.

The assessment for Outcome 1 should be continuous from a variety of project/assignment work, each student should be able to present the required work for assessment as an individual exercise: clear guidelines, including the performance level, should be given for all projects.

(If assessment material is presented as part of a joint exercise, a clear indication of each student's contribution must be made).

2. At least half of the total time for this module should be spent in a workplace setting, with children in the age range birth - eight years.

Students should investigate some of the methods of studying children: use can be made of their observations from the workplace: students should be encouraged to choose and use a particular method of observation, both for class discussion and for assessment purposes.

In relation to their work for Outcome 1, students should identify the various needs of children which may be met by the workplace environment, and particularly by the adults in that environment; students may want to develop an expanded checklist in relation to the assessment procedures, for use in their workplace.

The qualities required to promote the development of children's individuality might be investigated as a group exercise; the student should be encouraged to monitor his/her own developing abilities in relation to these qualities; individual students might devise, in conjunction with their tutor, a personal checklist for continuous formative assessment.

Workplace staff should be involved in the continuous assessment of students placed in their units; regular tutor visits will allow for discussion of observed student involvement with both the individual student and the workplace supervisor.

Students should be given regular, detailed reports, both orally and in writing, in relation to their progress, by workplace supervisors and by college tutors after a visit to a placement; these reports might be used by the student in relation to their personal checklist.

The co-operation of placement staff in the assessment of this module is essential, and tutors should ensure that staff are

helped to be fully aware of the requirements of the module as these relate to the student and to his/her placement.

SCOTTISH VOCATIONAL EDUCATION COUNCIL

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NATIONAL CERTIFICATE MODULE DESCRIPTOR

Ref No.	76065	Session 1987-88

Title	LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT: CHILDREN 0-8 YEARS (X 2)
Type and Purpose	A specialist module which enables the student to acquire a knowledge of language development, the factors which influence development and the skills required to encourage this development.
Preferred Entry Level	Standard Grade in English at 3 76050 Human Development: Conception to 8 Years 76068 Play and the Development of the Child 0-8 years.
Learning Outcomes	The student should: 1. know the progression of language and its importance to the all round development of the child; 2. know of and differentiate between 'delay' and 'disorder' in language development; 3. know the role of the adult in providing an environment appropriate to the language needs of the child; 4. know what resources may be used to complement language development in children at different stages 0-8 years; 5. assist in fostering language development.
Content/ Context	Corresponding to Learning Outcomes 1-5: 1. The meaning of 'language' and 'communication'. Stages in language development from listening and babbling to fluent use of words. Language development is interdependent with all other areas of development - physical, intellectual, emotional and social. 2. Delayed language; wide range of contributory factors ;

permanent or temporary delay;
minimal or severe delay;
effect on expressive language or language comprehension.

Disorder/defect:
normal developmental phenomena;
difference between normal developmental phenomena and primary speech impairments/dysfunctions;
sources of specialist help e.g. child guidance, speech therapists.

3. The language needs at different stages of development.
Importance of adult's speech and language.
Preparation of environment to ensure security and stimuli for language.
Structured and free choice activities to encourage speech, conversation, new vocabulary, listening and comprehension skills.

4. Resources such as:
the adult;
companionship of other children;
book corner - stories, poetry;
drama - including puppets;
music, records;
outings;
visitors;
television.

5. Interaction with staff/other adults;
provision of appropriate environment and activities;
group, individual and thematic approaches;
observation and reporting on verbal and non-verbal interaction between:

- child/child;
- child/adult;
- adult/child.

Suggested Learning and Teaching Approaches

The knowledge needed in order to meet the Learning Outcomes may be acquired by examining appropriate texts, taking brief notes and taking part in discussions supervised by the teacher.

Exemplars of developmental stages, progress and problems are available on video and film. Through the use of these and with guidance from the teacher, the student may be helped towards achievement of the Learning Outcomes. The knowledge gained in the classroom would be further extended in the practical situation.

The procedures for, and instances of, referral should be explained.

Since it is seldom appropriate for a group of students to observe a speech therapist working with a child, films or videos might be used to illustrate the responsibilities of the speech therapy service. A visit from a speech therapist would also be most appropriate.

Initial information and guidance on observation skills and techniques would be given by the teacher, but this Learning Outcome would require considerable experience, under supervision, in practical placement which should amount to no less than 1/2 the total duration of the module over the period in which the module is taken. Guidance and practice should also be given on different methods of recording information acquired through observations. These might include written reports, checklists, video and audio recordings, and photography.

Assessment Procedures

All Learning Outcomes must be validly assessed.

The student must be informed of the tasks which contribute to summative assessment. Any unsatisfactory aspects of the performance should, if possible, be discussed with the student as and when they arise.

Training and assessment of students in practical placements should be undertaken by qualified and experienced staff working in close conjunction with college tutors. Trained staff refers only to staff who hold a recognised qualification resulting from an education and training of no less than two years duration eg nursery nursing, teaching, social work and nursing. It is the the responsibility of the presenting centres to ensure that placement staff involved in assessment meet with these requirements and encourage interaction with and placement visits by appropriate college staff.

Where cutting scores are stated these are intended to be for guidance. The precise cutting score for a test will depend on the difficulty of the test and will have to be decided by the tutor aided by the assessor.

Relating to Learning Outcome 1-5:

1, (a)Assessment will be by 10-15 short
&2 answer questions to cover:

(i) the meaning of language and communication;

(ii) the stages of development;

(iii) the difference between 'delay' and 'disorder'.

A satisfactory level of performance will normally be 80% correct response or better.

Each of the Learning Outcomes must be separately assessed.

(b) The student should write short notes on the importance of language to the all round development of the child. The answer should apply to each area of development.

The standard to be achieved will be a matter for the professional judgement of the college tutor in consultation with with the Council's assessor.

3. The student should write a short essay on the role of the adult in providing an environment which stimulates and encourages language development in children.

The standard to be achieved will be a matter for the professional judgement of the college tutor in consultation with the Council's assessor.

4. The student should write short notes on how five different resources aid language development in young children. Answers should illustrate knowledge of development in at least two of the age groups 0-3, 3-5, 5-8 years.

The standard to be achieved will be a matter for the professional judgement of the college tutor in consultation with the Council's assessor.

5. Assessment should be by means of an observation checklist to assess student's performance in practical placement (over an extended period of time) working with children from at least two of the age groups 0-3, 3-5, 5-8 years.

The student should:

(a) use clear, correct speech patterns;

(b) provide a good language model;

(c) use appropriate resources;

(d) produce useful report on children's language.

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NATIONAL CERTIFICATE MODULE DESCRIPTOR

Catalogue Ref Module Number	M6 7140330	Session 1990-91
Title	CHILD HEALTH (x 2)	
Purpose	This module is designed for students who are aiming at professional involvement with children 0-8 years, for example, childminders and nursery nurses. It will enable them to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to recognise when a child is in good health, when they are not and what action to take in the latter case.	
Preferred Entry Level	7140800 An Introduction to Human Development: Infancy to Old Age (x 1.1/2).	
Outcomes	The student should: 1. evaluate the factors which affect the health of the young child; 2. identify aspects of appearance and behaviour which can indicate the state of a child's health; 3. promote the health of the child by providing for his/her physical, intellectual, emotional and social needs.	
Assessment Procedures	Acceptable performance in the module will be satisfactory achievement of all the Performance Criteria specified for each Outcome. The following abbreviations are used below: PC Performance Criteria IA Instrument of Assessment	

Note: The Outcomes and PCs are mandatory and cannot be altered. The IA may be altered by arrangement with SCOTVEC. (Where a range of performance is indicated, this should be regarded as an extension of the PCs and is therefore mandatory.)

OUTCOME 1 EVALUATE THE FACTORS WHICH AFFECT THE HEALTH OF THE YOUNG CHILD

PCs

(a) The identification of the factors which are essential to the child's good health is correct and clear in terms of the child's physical and psychological needs.
(b) The explanation of the significance of each factor to the child's health is relevant and correct.

IA Case Study

The student will be given two case studies to test his/her ability to identify the essential factors which promote good health in the young child.

The tutor will design two case studies, one centred on a child in the birth-1 age group and the other either in the 1-4 or 5-8 age group. Each case study should be information loaded to test the student's ability to identify factors which promote good health. The factors should be implied rather than stated to test understanding rather than recall of facts. Each case study will provide information on essential factors required to promote good health.

Satisfactory achievement of the Outcome will be based on the student, for Performance Criterion (a), clearly identifying 10 essential factors which promote good health in the child and for Performance Criterion (b), explaining the value of 6 of these factors to a state of good health in the child for each case study.

OUTCOME 2 IDENTIFY ASPECTS OF APPEARANCE AND BEHAVIOUR WHICH CAN INDICATE THE STATE OF A CHILD'S HEALTH

PCs

(a) The identification of physical and behavioural features which indicate a child is in good health is relevant and accurate in terms of the child's developmental stage.

(b) The recognition of physical and behavioural changes in the child indicative of ill-health or malaise is accurate in the context of the given situation.
(c) The identification of the short term implications of the physical/behavioural changes are relevant to the child's immediate state of health in the given situation.

IA Case Study

The student will be presented with two case studies to test the knowledge required to identify aspects of appearance and behaviour which may indicate whether a child is in good/bad health. One case study will depict a child in the birth-1 year age group, the other case study a child in either the 1-4 age group or 5-8 age group.

Each of the case studies should be information loaded implying aspects of normal and abnormal appearance and behaviour which indicate the state of the child's health.

Satisfactory achievement of the Outcome will be based on the student achieving, for each case study, 4 physical aspects of appearance which indicate the child is in good health, 4 psychological/emotional aspects of behaviour which indicate the child is in good health, 2 changes in the appearance of the child and 2 changes in the behaviour of the child which are not consistent with good health.

A reference to the implications for the child's general well-being for each of the changes identified which are inconsistent with good health.

OUTCOME 3 PROMOTE THE HEALTH OF THE CHILD BY PROVIDING FOR HIS/HER PHYSICAL, INTELLECTUAL, EMOTIONAL AND SOCIAL NEEDS

PCs
(a) The assessment of whether the child's basic health needs are being met is accurate in the given circumstances.
(b) The programme of activities of daily living prepared is conducive to assisting and maintaining health according to the child's developmental status.
(c) The evaluation of the planned programme is a clear justification of the actions taken appropriate to the circumstances in the given situation.

IA Assignment

The assignment will test the student's ability to use knowledge and skills in planning activities to promote the health of a young child.

The student will identify 2 case studies, at least one study case (anonymous) from practical placement experience and have the opportunity to select from a variety of prepared case studies a child, either in the birth-1, 1-4 or 5-8 age group.

One case study should be in the birth-1 age group and the other in either the 1-4 or 5-8 age group.

Each of the assignments should reflect the following:

(a) physical needs
(b) personal comfort
(c) environmental health
(d) two play activities for each selected 'case' which demonstrate provision for the child's intellectual, emotional and social needs.

Satisfactory achievement of the Outcome will be based on the student indicating 4 ways by which each of physical health, personal comfort and environmental health would be promoted.

The following sections of the descriptor are offered as guidance.
They are not mandatory.

CONTENT/CONTEXT

Corresponding to Outcomes 1-3:

Throughout the module the definition of the word 'health' will be that used by the World Health Organisation.

1. Essential factors refer to basic physical needs for food, clothing, warmth, sleep, fresh air, exercise, rest, good posture, development of good habits eg. toilet training, personal cleanliness and safe environment. The psychological/emotional needs for love, parenting, affection, stimulation, relationships with others, play, feelings etc.

2. Aspects of appearance and behaviour should be related to what is expected in terms of the developmental 'norm' for the child eg. physical features such as weight, appearance of the skin, hair, eyes, appetite, energy, normal sleep patterns, activity. Emotional/psychological and social features which include: child's general demeanour:- lively, happy or withdrawn; demonstration of affection, relationships with others, expression of feelings, security/insecurity etc. Level of concentration, interest, curiosity, involvement in play, communication etc. Reference should be made to the importance of all factors to the health of the child.

3. Normal activities of daily living should incorporate the following aspects:

   Physical aspects: food, rest/sleep, exercise, fresh air, safety.

   Personal comfort: cleanliness (to include toileting), warmth, clothing, posture.

   Intellectual, social and emotional needs: love, parenting, affection, stimulation, social contacts, expresion of feelings, communication, relationships with family, pets etc.

   Environmental health: space, ventilation, temperature, hygienic surroundings, prevention of infection, prevention of injury etc. The environment should include both the indoor and outdoor environment.

   Daily activities should incorporate play activities appropriate to the child's needs.

SUGGESTED LEARNING AND TEACHING APPROACHES

Centre-based learning should be reinforced by practical placement learning. Information concerning factors relating to health can be gained from textbooks, audio-visual materials, personal experiences, discussions with parents within or outside the student's own family. Maximum opportunity should be taken to observe provision and practice in nurseries or any other environment in which young children are nurtured.

Visiting speakers eg. health visitors, social workers and other health education specialists may be involved to provide a broad spectrum of health promotion.

To enable the student to learn with understanding, opportunities for discussion and problem solving using case studies, magazines articles, reports in newspapers, TV programmes or videos etc. should be provided where possible.

While the theory may be acquired in College/Centre, the development of the skills should be incorporated in the practical placement training programme. Trained staff should demonstrate the skills required after which the student should be encouraged to practise these under the supervision of the designated trained staff. Consideration should be given to the role of the parents in promoting the health of their children.

At least half of this double module should be spent in practical placement.

SCOTTISH VOCATIONAL EDUCATION COUNCIL

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NATIONAL CERTIFICATE MODULE DESCRIPTOR

Ref No.	96061	Session 1989-90
Title	INFANT FEEDING AND WEANING	

Purpose

This module is designed to develop the student's knowledge in all aspects of infant feeding and weaning. The module will be helpful for those students who are preparing for professional involvement in the health and development of young children.

Preferred Entry Level

76050 Human Development: Conception to 8 Years
86052 Child Health

Learning Outcomes

The student should:

1. identify the nutritional needs of the developing infant and explain their importance to health;
2. evaluate the methods of providing milk requirements in early infancy;
3. identify skills required for successful breast feeding;
4. prepare a milk formula for an infant and describe a technique of bottle feeding;
5. explain the process of weaning.

Content/ Context

<u>Corresponding to Learning Outcomes 1-5:</u>

1. The needs of the developing infant for fluid and food nutrients. These should be related to energy, growth, hydration, warmth, and wellbeing,

   Prevention of deficiency disorders eg. failure to thrive, dehydration, rickets, nutritional aneamia etc.

2. Advantages of breast milk, why milk alternatives are modified eg. cow's milk, soya based milk.

   Factors which influence choice of feeding:

milk composition, psychological, social, physical, eg. medical reasons, family matters, economics, illness, personal choice.

3. Simple explanation of structure of the breast; breast feeding technique;

4. Skills involved in feeding an infant using a milk formula:

the range of different types of infant milk formulae currently available;
calculation of feed requirement;
preparation of feed;
preparation of infant carer;
preparation of infant;
provision of suitable environment;
feeding technique;
recognition of and reasons for feeding difficulties;
settling infant after feed;
cleaning and sterilising equipment;

5. Definition of weaning; reasons for weaning.

Process of weaning; factors which influence weaning; suitable foods - texture, variety, quantity and temperature.

Equipment for weaning - choice and care.
Adult attitude and approach; recognition of variance of individual needs.

Possible choices of vitamin supplements e.g. reasons, content, dosage, age range, method of administration, possible dangers.

Suggested Learning and Teaching Approaches

Knowledge should be gained from appropriate textbooks, journals, posters, leaflets, slides, video and simulated practical work.

Discussions, eg. on surveys/projects/visits.
Debates, e.g. breast versus bottle feeding.

Short surveys/projects on, e.g.

(a) infant feeding and weaning trends - local, countrywide, other countries;

(b) feeding equipment;

(c) infant formulae;

(d) weaning foods.

Whenever possible classroom learning should be reinforced by:

visits to maternity hospitals;

visits to well-baby clinics - to reinforce and increase knowledge and to observe advisory techniques of staff;

talks from a midwife on breast feeding;

talks from a health visitor on all aspects of infant feeding.

Assessment Procedures

Acceptable performance in the module will be satisfactory achievement of all the performance criteria specified for each Learning Outcome.

The following abbreviations are used below:

LO Learning Outcome
IA Instrument of Assessment
PC Performance Criteria

LO1 IDENTIFY THE NUTRITIONAL NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING INFANT AND EXPLAIN THEIR IMPORTANCE TO HEALTH

PC The student:

(a) identifies the essential nutritional needs of the developing infant and explains why these needs are important to health and wellbeing;
(b) gives examples and causes of possible nutritional deficiency disorders.

IA Restricted Response

The student will be set Restricted Response Questions to test his/her understanding of the nutritional needs of the infant. Questions will be allocated as follows:

PC (a) - 1 question
PC (b) - 1 question

Satisfactory performance will be that the student (a) correctly identifies the 7 essential nutritional needs of the infant giving one important reason for each and (b), correctly identifies 2 examples of possible deficiency disorders and gives one cause for each.

LO2 EVALUATE THE METHODS OF PROVIDING MILK REQUIREMENTS IN EARLY INFANCY

PC The student:

(a) states advantages of breast milk;
(b) considers reasons for choice of breast feeding and bottle feeding.

IA Restricted Response

The student will be set 11 Restricted Response Questions on methods of providing milk requirements in early infancy.

Questions will be allocated as follows

PC (a) - advantages of breast milk - 1 question
PC (b) - reasons for breast feeding - 5 questions
reasons for bottle feeding - 5 questions

Over the 10 questions for PC (b) the following factors must be covered at least once:

psychological, social, physical.

Satisfactory performance will be that the student for performance criteria (a) correctly gives 3 advantages of breast milk, and for performance criteria (b) answers all 10 questions correctly.

LO3 IDENTIFY SKILLS REQUIRED FOR SUCCESSFUL BREAST FEEDING

PC The student:

(a) identifies the main structures of the breast;
(b) describes the pre-natal preparation for breast feeding;
(c) describes the preparation required for the mother and infant prior to breast feeding;
(d) describes one technique for successful breast feeding.

IA Structured Question and Restricted Response

The student will be tested on his/her knowledge of the structures of the breast, the preparation required for mother and infant prior to breast feeding and the technique of breast feeding.

Questions will be allocated as follows:

PC (a) - 1 structured question
PC (b) - 1 restricted response question
PC (c) - 1 restricted response question
PC (d) - 1 restricted response question

Satisfactory performance will be that the student (a) correctly identifies 3 structures; (b) correctly describes 2 factors of pre-natal preparation; (c) correctly describes 2 aspects of preparation for the mother prior to feed and 2 aspects of preparation for the infant prior to feed; (d) correctly describes 5 factors conducive to successful breast feeding.

LO4 PREPARE A MILK FORMULA FOR AN INFANT AND DESCRIBE A TECHNIQUE OF BOTTLE FEEDING

PC The student:

(a) makes up a milk formula;
(b) describes the technique of bottle feeding;
(c) cleans and sterilises equipment.

IA Restricted Response and Practical Exercise

The student will be tested on his/her knowledge and skills with regard to the technique of bottle feeding, the making up of a milk formula and the cleaning and sterilising of equipment. Assessment will be constructed as follows:

(i) making up of milk formula for a given weight - 1 practical exercise;
(ii) technique of bottle feeding - 1 restricted response question;
(iii) cleaning and sterilising of equipment - 1 practical exercise.

Satisfactory performance will be that the student (a) correctly selects, calculates and prepares a formula for an infant of a given weight; (b) correctly describes 2 aspects of preparation for infant and 2 aspects of preparation for mother, 5 factors on the technique of bottle feeding and 1 factor on the procedures after the feed; (c) demonstrates correct cleaning and sterilising procedures for equipment.

LO5 EXPLAIN THE PROCESS OF WEANING

PC The student:

(a) explains the reasons for weaning;
(b) outlines suitable types and textures of foods;
(c) identifies factors which influence the weaning process;
(d) describes suitable equipment for weaning;
(e) explains the importance of the carer's attitude throughout weaning.

IA Restricted Response

The student will be set 5 Restricted Response questions to test knowledge of the considerations involved in weaning. There will be one question set on each of performance criterion (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) above.

Satisfactory performance will be that the student (a) correctly explains 3 reasons for weaning, (b) correctly describes 3 suitable types and textures of food, (c) correctly identifies 3 factors which influence weaning (d) correctly describes 3 items of equipment suitable for weaning, (e) explains 3 important aspects of the carer's attitude.